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# Near East/North Africa Report

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19 February 1982

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No. 2490

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ARAB ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FUND REPORTS GAINS

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 30, Sep 81 pp 48-49

[Article: "1981--A Take-Off Year"]

[Text] In 1980 the Fund Completed Its Stage of Financial and Administrative Reorganization.

According to the annual report of the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, the total in loans granted by the Fund, since the time it began functioning in 1972 till the end of last year, amounted to 342.9 million Kuwaiti dinars (1 Kuwaiti dinar equals \$3.6), and the Fund's paid-in capital, out of its total subscribed capital of 395.1 million dinars, amounted to 260.7 million dinars.

The Fund's financial reserves totaled about 58.2 million dinars. When they are added to the paid-in capital, this amount then constitutes the Fund's total resources, which amounted to approximately 318.9 million dinars in 1980. This figure is approximately 24 million dinars less than the Fund's total obligations.

However, the report brought out the fact that the 14 Arab borrower nations, from the date of the Fund's establishment till the end of 1980, had withdrawn only 180.8 million dinars from the loan money which they had obtained from the Fund. This explains why the Fund has not called all of its subscribed capital, which totaled 395.1 million dinars. At this point it should be mentioned that the Fund is able to call approximately 162.1 million dinars when necessary.

A lot of questions arose concerning the method which the Fund would be utilizing to obtain the resources which will guarantee that it continue to perform its functions.

In 1977 the Fund's paid-in capital totaled 131.9 million dinars whereas its obligations had reached a figure of about 291.9 million dinars--that is, twice the amount of capital available.

In 1978 the Fund did not grant any loans, whereas in that year the total in loan withdrawals had increased to 61.8 million dinars, having been only 24.7 million dinars in 1977. However, paid-in capital jumped from 131.9 million dinars [in 1977] to 164 million dinars in 1978. There was also another leap in 1979, which was the year when Dr Muhammad al-'Imadi actually took over the responsibilities of director

of the Fund. During that year paid-in capital reached a figure of 202 million dinars, and by 1980 this figure was 260 million dinars.

The Fund resumed its lending activities in 1979. In that year it granted loans totaling 26.2 million dinars, as compared to loans of 103.9 million dinars granted in 1977. Last year there was a decrease in loans granted. They amounted to only 24.9 million dinars. But the financial situation in 1981 was better than it had been in 1977. Subscribed capital increased from 370.4 million dinars to 395.1 million dinars, that is, an increase of 24.7 million dinars. Paid-in capital also increased from 131.9 million dinars to 260 million dinars in 1980. At the same time, the Fund's obligations increased only 51 million dinars, reaching a figure of 342.9 million dinars.

All of this had impelled observers to say that the period from 1977 to 1980 was a period of both financial and administrative reorganization. Will 1981 be considered a take-off year?

The Fund's last annual report referred to the fact that the Fund would finance 14 projects in 11 Arab nations during 1980. The cost of these projects was to be a maximum of 50 million Kuwaiti dinars. The basis for this volume of loans was the general principles in the plan for the Fund's resources, according to the report. But the report did not mention what these principles were. It should also be pointed out that the Fund, at the Amman summit conference which was held last October, demanded that its capital be increased and submitted a study dealing with this subject.

What were the Fund's activities in 1980?

The annual report says that the Fund in 1980 made eight loans totaling 24.8 million dinars. These loans were distributed as follows: 1.9 million dinars to South Yemen, 50 million dinars to Morocco, 2 million dinars to Algeria, 3 million dinars to North Yemen, 3.5 million dinars to Tunisia, 3.7 million dinars to Jordan, 2.7 million dinars to Syria, and 3 million dinars to Oman. It is noted that the two loans which were granted to Syria and Jordan were for financing the two countries' participation in a joint project for wire and wireless communications which involve Iraq, Syria, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia.

Infrastructure sectors received 58 percent of the loans from the Fund, whereas production sectors (only agriculture) received 42 percent of the loans. The less-developed Arab countries (these include Somalia, Mauritania, Djibouti, and the two Yemens) received loans of only 4.9 million dinars, whereas the developing Arab countries received 19.9 million dinars worth of loans.

The Fund provided four programs of technical aid costing 474,000 dinars, and made four feasibility studies for joint Arab projects. One of these projects was the joint Syrian-Jordanian project for the manufacture of white cement. The Fund also continued with four other studies. In addition to this, the Fund agreed to undertake six [other] studies. One of these studies concerns integrated development of the Hamad Basin area, and another one concerns the manufacture of steel. The Fund also completed a study concerning the achievements of development in the Arab world during the seventies and the horizons of development for the eighties. Furthermore, the Fund participated in preparing the 1980 Consolidated Arab Economic Report, in cooperation with the Arab Monetary Fund. The Fund also participated in another study dealing with investment in the Arab world.

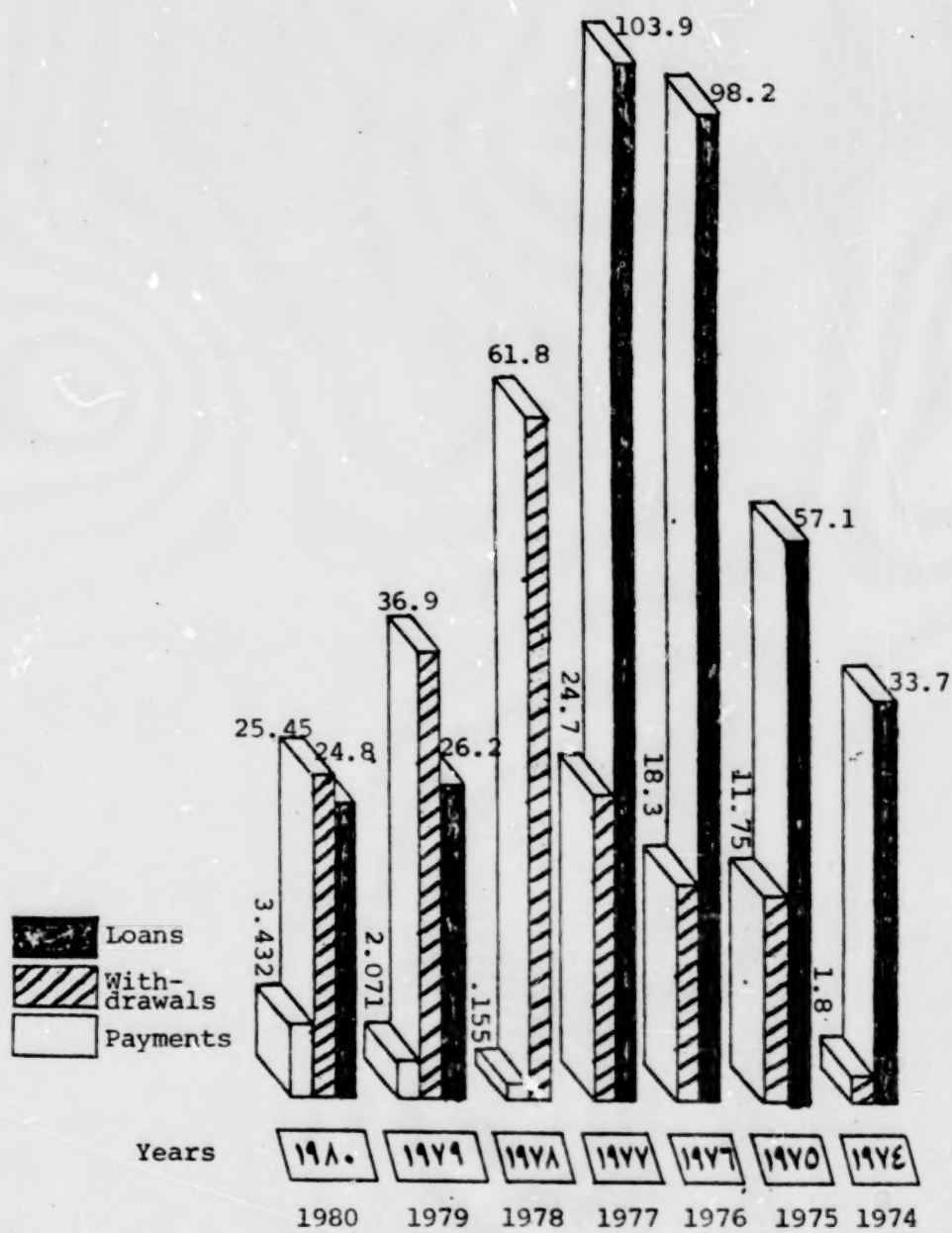


Figure 1. Loans Made by the Arab Development Fund (1974-80)  
(in millions of Kuwaiti dinars)



Table 1. Sector Distribution of Arab Development Fund's Loans to Borrower Countries (1974-80)  
(in millions of Kuwaiti dinars)

Sector	Jordan	Tunisia	Algeria	Sudan	Syria	Egypt	N. Yemen	Lebanon	Morocco	S. Yemen	Bahrain	Somalia	Mauritania	Oman	Total	Percentage
Electrical power	11.9	2.0			6.0	12.0	13.0	6.0		4.0	5.0		5.2		65.1	19.0%
Water and sewage	2.1	3.3			12.0	18.0	14.0								49.4	14.4%
Roads	5.0			33.6								8.0	7.0		53.6	15.6%
Ports			18.0			12.0		5.0		3.9					38.9	11.3%
Wire and wireless communications				4.8											4.8	1.4%
Storage					2.0										2.0	0.6%
Total loans to infrastructure sectors	19.0	5.3	18.0	38.4	20.0	42.0	27.0	11.0		7.9	5.0	8.0	12.2		213.8	62.3%
Cement and building materials industry						6.7			9.0						15.7	4.6%
Textile industry						10.0									10.0	2.9%
Oil and gas industry		4.0				9.2								9.0	22.2	6.5%
Mining industry													10.0		10.0	2.9%
Total loans to industry sector		4.0				25.9			9.0				10.0	9.0	57.9	16.9%



Table 1. Sector Distribution of Arab Development Fund's Loans to Borrower Countries (1974-80) (contd)  
(in millions of Kuwaiti dinars)

Sector	Jordan	Tunisia	Algeria	Sudan	Syria	Egypt	N. Yemen	Lebanon	Morocco	S. Yemen	Bahrain	Somalia	Mauritania	Oman	Total	Percentage
Agricultural settlement and irrigation		3.5							7.0			6.4			16.9	4.9%
Development of animal wealth					2.0							1.6			3.6	1.1%
Multipurpose agriculture									14.0	7.7					21.7	6.3%
Total loans for agriculture		3.5			2.0				21.0	7.7		8.0			42.2	12.3%
Total loans to service sector		7.0													7.0	2.0%
Joint Arab projects																
Wire and wireless communications	3.7		0.3		2.7				3.0						9.7	2.8%
Airports			2.0												2.0	0.6%
Overland roads							3.8			6.5					10.3	3.0%
Total loans to joint Arab projects	3.7		2.3		2.7		3.8		3.0	6.5					22.0	6.4%
Sum total of loans by Fund	22.7	19.8	20.3	38.4	24.7	67.9	30.8	11.0	33.0	22.1	5.0	16.0	22.2	9.0	342.9	
Percentage distribution (%)	6.6	5.8	5.9	11.2	7.2	19.8	8.9	3.2	9.6	6.5	1.5	4.7	6.5	2.6		100.0%

ARAB MONETARY FUND EXPERIENCES PROBLEMS

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 30, Sep 81 p 50

[Article: "Attempt to Escape from the Whirlpool"]

[Text] In 1977 the oil-rich Arab countries, that is, the countries which some people like to label the "Arab financial consortium," agreed to the idea of establishing the Arab Monetary Fund. This agreement came after several meetings which had been held by the ministers of finance and governors of the Arab central banks.

The purpose behind establishing the Fund--which the Council of Arab Economic Unity, the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, and the Kuwaiti Fund strove to bring about--was to create an Arab institution which would play a role similar to that played by the International Monetary Fund, in order to help Arab countries which are suffering from monetary and financial difficulties to overcome these difficulties and to achieve the necessary financial equilibrium.

Both the Arab nations to do the financing and the Arab nations to do the borrowing had great hopes for the Fund. They expected that it would be just as important in the Arab world as the International Monetary Fund is in the international community. This explains why some of the member states were vying to have their capital cities be the location of the organization's headquarters. Each nation figured that the Fund would be an important organization and that this would lend international financial glamour and prestige to its capital city.

Things Could Be Better

But things have not gone well since the Fund began functioning in 1978. It appears that its capital, regulations, and conditions are tailored to a body which is much thinner than the Arab body is. The reason for this is that its contribution toward helping the "Arab deficit nations" has been scanty and has not amounted to more than 8 percent of the total deficit. Some nations even refrain from utilizing the Fund's credit because it does not serve its purpose since it is of such small volume. From the Fund's last annual report--that report for 1980--we gather that the difficulties which have been constituting an obstacle to its work are the following:

1. Lack of capital. The Fund's capital amounts to 263 million computational dinars (the dinar is approximately equal to \$3.7). This is a very small amount

when compared to the needs of that Arab nations "suffering from a deficit," especially since the deficit in the balance of payments has become critical during the last 3 years.

2. The small degree of participation by the "deficit nations" in the Fund's capital, and the fact that these degrees of participation are linked to their ability to obtain loans. For both of these reasons the "deficit nations" have been prevented from receiving adequate financing. For example, no member state has the right to obtain a loan from the Fund which amounts to more than three times its capital participation. The latest annual report by the Fund says that the size of the loans granted to any of these nations at present does not exceed 10 million Arab computational dinars.

3. The fact that the loan policy adopted by the Fund sets difficult conditions. During the past 2 years the Fund's administration has worked on overcoming these conditions. It has become possible for any member nation to automatically receive a loan which does not exceed 75 percent of any percentage of the capital which is paid in, even if the nation owes payment on loans which it has previously obtained from the Fund. It has now become possible for a member state to obtain initial payments of a normal loan 4 days after signing the loan agreement. Also, the Fund's administration has introduced changes in the loan policy which have kept the interest rates from being raised.

Furthermore, the Fund no longer requires a member nation to deal with a particular credit market. In addition to this, the Fund has changed the criteria according to which it determines the degree of commitment on the part of a member state to the economic policy which it has agreed upon with the Fund. Also, the administration of the Fund has suggested to the Fund's technical apparatus the possibility of simplifying the loan procedures followed by the Fund in order to provide the necessary flexibility and speed when making decisions concerning loan requests.

#### The Governors Change Their Minds

These facts were presented during the last two meetings held by the Fund's Council of Governors, which is composed of the ministers of finance of the member states. The governors agreed to recommend that the Fund's capital be increased, and they passed this recommendation along to the Arab Economic and Social Council.

The recommendation was then brought up before the Arab summit conference which was held in Amman last November. However, during a meeting which it recently held in Abu Dhabi, the Council came out against increasing the Fund's capital in view of the Fund's "surplus" which has resulted from the fact that the Fund has made only small loans to the member states during its existence.

It was decided that payment of the remaining capital should be obligatory for the member states when the Fund's obligations total 50 percent of the paid-in capital. At the end of 1980 the Fund's obligations totaled about 20 percent of the paid-in capital. However, the governors agreed to raise the maximum amount of a loan to four times that of a member state's paid subscribed capital. Here it should be pointed out that the Council agreed to have Iraq expand its capital participation in the Fund by a total of 13 million Arab computational dinars. Iraq's capital

[participation] thus increased from 250 million computational dinars to 263 million computational dinars. However, the Council did not agree to the proposal to increase Morocco's share from 10 million computational dinars to 30 million computational dinars.

In spite of the slight improvement of the Fund's situation as far as its loan activities are concerned, it still finds itself living inside a whirlpool. In order for the Fund to increase its participation in financing the deficit in balance of payments of a great many of the Arab nations, these nations must increase their capital participation in the Fund and comply with the Fund's recommendations concerning monetary, financial, and economic reforms in general. However, the "deficit nations" are unable to increase their shares of the capital, and they are unable to institute reforms because most of these reforms would affect the essence of their social policies. The generally predominant feeling is that the Arab Monetary Fund might be forced to put on new clothing which is tailored to the size of the needs and circumstances of the Arab nations--clothing which would be completely different from the clothing worn by the International Monetary Fund. Perhaps this would be a new experiment.

9468

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ARAB ENGINEERING CONSULTING COMPANY FOUNDED

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 3Q Sep 81 p 51

[Article: "Leap in the Direction of a \$10 Billion Market"]

[Text] Its Role Will Be That of a Company Which Brings Together Arab Petroleum Engineering Experts. The Company Has Been Established by Nine Arab Nations Which Are Indirect Stockholders.

Last month a new company was added to the list of joint Arab companies. It is the Arab Engineering Consulting Company. The thing which distinguishes this new company from the other joint companies is its small amount of capital and the high quality of its work. The following is a report which discusses the stages gone through in the establishment of the company as well as the company's objectives and strategy:

After efforts which were expended over the course of more than 3 years, OAPEC (whose headquarters is in Kuwait) managed to get its nine member states to agree to the establishment and announcement of the Arab Engineering Consulting Company.

Last month the company's director was chosen. He is Dr Mahmud Hamra (Kurha), who is also director general of the Abu Dhabi National Petroleum Company. Also, the [new company's] board met and decided to draw up the company's laws and bylaws, one of which stipulated that Abu Dhabi was to be the location of the company's headquarters.

The above-mentioned company has been less costly than any of the other companies originating from OAPEC. Its capital has been set at only \$20 million, whereas the capital of the Arab Maritime Oil Transport Company (whose headquarters is Kuwait) is \$500 million, the capital of the Arab Shipbuilding and Ship Repair Company (Bahrain) is \$300 million, the capital of the Petroleum Investment Company (Riyadh) is \$1 billion, and the capital of the Petroleum Services Company (Tripoli-Libya) is \$100 million. The nine member nations--Syria, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Qatar, Bahrain, Libya, and Algeria--will not pay anything at all toward the company's capital formation. It was decided that the above-mentioned companies, in addition to six other companies belonging to the governments of the member nations, would participate in the company's capital.

The idea of establishing this company began to intrigue the officials of OAPEC--especially OAPEC's secretary general, Dr 'Ali 'Atiqah--when the ministers of



of petroleum in the member states, at one of OAPEC's ministerial meetings which was held in 1977, complained about the fact that economic and engineering consulting which deals with setting up industrial petroleum installations had come to be very costly, in addition to the fact this field was being monopolized by only a small number of companies worldwide.

At a ministerial meeting which was held at the end of 1978 in Abu Dhabi, Dr 'Atiqah proposed the establishment of an engineering consulting company which would be part of OAPEC. OAPEC's Council of Ministers then asked for an economic feasibility study of the project and requested that a study be made of the potential for bringing together Arab petroleum engineering experts within the framework of the project, whether these experts worked with the Arab world or abroad.

It was agreed that such a company would represent a big qualitative change in joint Arab activities because it would depend on brains and expertise rather than intensive capital, as has been the case in all of the other joint Arab companies.

After the submission of detailed studies concerning Arab engineering potential and the fields of activity to be engaged in by the company, the Council of Ministers, at a meeting held in Kuwait last year, agreed to the establishment of the company--without going into the details of the company's capital and the distribution of its dividends and shares. It appeared that, in order to save time, a decision was taken to have the company's capital contributed by the companies belonging to OAPEC along with other companies in the member nations.

These studies pointed out the fact that the Arab nations, during the eighties, will be implementing petroleum, petrochemical, and gas projects which will cost a total of \$120 billion. Of this amount, \$10 billion is to be spent on engineering consulting and studies, and it will be possible for the company to perform a good deal of this work.

The company will provide technical and economic studies for industrial petroleum projects in the member states as well as for the projects of the shareholding companies. But during its first 2 years of operation, its activities will be restricted to furnishing technical assistance for the Arab companies in the field of administration and supervision of the implementation of industrial petroleum projects.

The chairman of the board, Dr Mahmud Hamra (Kurha), summed up the company's strategy as follows:

1. The company represents an Arab initiative for entering this field--which up till recently was monopolized by Western and Japanese companies.
2. The company will perform its work in an Arab spirit, that is, when it studies projects it will bear in mind the interest of the Arabs rather than the interests of others. For this reason, the company will not seek the help of foreign experts unless this is something which is urgently needed.
3. The company will bring together Arab petroleum engineering experts from all areas of the world and will utilize them to serve the petroleum interests of the Arabs.

## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

MOROCCAN VOLUNTEERS FOR IRAQ--Rabat, 6 Feb (INA)--Moroccan Prime Minister Maati Bouabid has said that Morocco will not hesitate to give facilities to Moroccans who wish to volunteer to fight with Iraq in the war it is waging against Iran. In an exclusive interview with the INA correspondent in Rabat, the Moroccan prime minister said that King Husayn's initiative is an Arab initiative whose impact must extend to all Arab countries. Bouabid recalled that at a recent press conference in Paris, King Hassan II welcomed Jordan's initiative opening the door for all Jordanians who wish to volunteer. Bouabid described Iraqi-Moroccan relations as exemplary ones on the Arab level, stressing that these relations will become stronger with time. He expressed the hope that Iraqi-Moroccan relations will be a model to all Arab countries. Bouabid added that Iraq's initiative to seek the help of Moroccan labor stems from Iraq's concept of Arab nationalism and its efforts to promote this concept in the Arab arena. He stressed the importance of seeking the help of Moroccan labor and added it must cover all fields if it is to be beneficial. The Moroccan prime minister told the INA correspondent that contacts are underway to resume the 12th Arab summit conference and that the forthcoming Arab summit will play a more effective role than any time before. He said that Arab leaders will agree on the date and venue of the conference when they sense that all the conditions for its success are available. [Text] [JN060845 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0805 GMT 6 Feb 82]

CSO: 4404/243

## AFGHANISTAN

### SHIPPING EXPANDED ON AMU DARYA RIVER BORDER

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 30 Dec 81 p 1

[Article by A. Abramtsev, senior economist of the Central Asian Shipping Company: "The Rivermen Keep Their Word"]

[Excerpts] The watch in honor of the 60th Anniversary of Establishment of the USSR has brought a new achievement by the work force of the Central Asian Order of Labor Red Banner Shipping Company. The annual traffic plan was fulfilled 3 weeks ahead of the scheduled period. Cargo carried to Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was 300,000 tons more than last year. Above-plan profit was about 500,000 rubles. Labor productivity in traffic operations exceeded the planning target by 8 percent.

The success was achieved above all thanks to introduction of cost accounting on merchant vessels. The initiator of this campaign was the crew of the motor vessel "Shaydakov," whose captain is K. Islamov. It accounted for nearly 12,000 rubles of above-plan profit. High technical and economic indicators were achieved following introduction of cost accounting by the crews of the motor vessels "K. Marks," "Lenin," "Ashkhabad," "Vladivostok" and "Tuapse."

The watermen credited 163,000 rubles of savings into the savings bank of the thrifty.

Port personnel approached the end of the year with good figures. They have been successfully introducing the current technological innovation--cargo shipment in containers. In the months of the year so far they have carried 36 percent more of the cargo of the national economy by this progressive method of loading and shipment than was called for by the plan. The method of palletized cargo shipment has also been skillfully applied here; it has made it possible to substantially reduce vessel processing time. Port personnel in Termez received especially high figures on days during the weeks of the crash effort.

Ship repair yards of the shipping company overfulfilled the 11-month sales plan by 60,000 rubles. Much is being done here to reduce material costs and to save on fuel and energy. Since the beginning of the year ships have been able to save tens of thousands of kilowatt-hours of electric power, more than 7 tons of metal and a great deal of standard fuel.

Production innovators deserve a great deal of credit for the success of the shipping company's work force. More than 100,000 rubles of state resources have been saved because their innovative proposals were applied.

The efforts of the work force are now aimed at carrying an additional 200,000 tons of varied cargo of the economy and exports and imports by the end of the year and to fulfill the traffic plan for 1982 by 20 December.

The shipping season on the Amu Dar'ya is being extended, and the great fervor of the competition is not slacking. In the first days of the watch devoted to Soviet Belorussia, the watermen have already carried on the blue highway thousands of tons of cargo of the national economy that will be credited to the second year of the 5-year plan.

7045

CSO: 1829/92

RELEASED POLITICAL DETAINEES DISCUSS DETENTION, FUTURE PROSPECTS

From Cell to al-'Urubah Palace

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 2982, 4 Dec 81 pp 12, 13

[Article]

[Text] The politicians who had been held in custody proceeded from their historic meeting with President Husni Mubarak at al-'Urubah Palace to the castle gates. Suddenly they insisted on going back to their cells, and they asked for cars to take them back to the Turah Prison farm annex. Cars were provided, and AL-MUSAWWAR's photographers were waiting for them.

A screen or a huge wooden door separates freedom and detention. This door separates two worlds. We peeped through the keyhole and through the crevices and crannies of this door, those that were formed by time, and we saw private cars inside the prison. Meanwhile, we waited, and several [other] cars outside the prison walls waited. Many of the relatives of those who were in custody waited with us for the moment of their release.

The relatives of those who were being released were gripped by worry. After a few minutes they asked, "When will they come out?" Every minute that went by seemed an eternity. After 3 months of detention suddenly and without prior knowledge, they will be out.

Some of them heard the news of their release in their cells or in hospitals, few minutes before they were to meet President Mubarak. Their meeting with the president at al-'Urubah Palace actually took them by surprise.

Behind the prison walls everyone on the day of the release, no one could believe [what was happening]. Some of them said that it was not possible that they would go from the cell to the seat of power, as Mr Haykal said. In fact, some of them did not believe that after their meeting with the president they would leave al-'Urubah Palace without restrictions or restraints, as was the case with Dr Hilmi Murad.



The evidence for the fact that they could not believe what was happening lay in the fact that both of them, [Mr Haykal and Dr Murad], left their belongings and their luggage in prison or in the hospital. This was the reason why most of them insisted on going back [to prison] after their historic and civilized meeting in al-'Urubah Palace.

The people who were being released, who [filled the political spectrum] from the ultra-left to the ultra-right, talked about the provocative experience of being in custody for 89 days. They talked about how a rapprochement in opinions and ideas was established despite different beliefs. They talked about the joy of meeting with their families.

What were they saying about their meeting with President Mubarak? What were their impressions of this meeting in al-'Urubah Palace?

AL-MUSAWWAR heard the opinions of 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan, Fathi Radwan, Hilmi Murad, 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Shurbaji, Dr Milad Hanna, Dr Nawal al-Sa'dawi, Hamid Zaydan, Ibrahim Yunis, Ahmad Farghali and Safinaz Kazim. AL-MUSAWWAR then conducted a comprehensive interview with Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal that lasted 4 hours.

#### President's Decision Deemed Just

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 2982, 4 Dec 81 p 14

[Interview with 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan, member of al-Wafd party by Ahmad Abu Kaf and Samirah Shafiq]

[Text] "The president's decision is justice in action."

'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan, member of al-Wafd party and former member of the People's Assembly said, "I can affirm that what President Muhammad Husni Mubarak did by issuing a decision to release some people who were in custody, and I was one of them, has numerous implications, chief among which is the fact that justice is being practiced. He did so after becoming convinced that nobody's freedom should be restricted without cause.

"What he did is also unprecedented because he was the one to issue the decision after examination and contemplation. He did not want to be satisfied with the release; he attached a concrete, unprecedented order to the release. He wanted the prisoners to go directly to al-'Urubah Palace after their release. He wanted to meet with them and to tell them what he wished to disclose to them about domestic matters and foreign affairs. He wanted to hear what they had to say.

"This was no mean thing; it was a great act, and I can truthfully, sincerely and honestly say that it left someone like me with a sense of satisfaction and reassurance also. Although he had said in a previous meeting with others that when the investigation was completed and no evidence of guilt was found, the innocent would be released and he would also meet with them, statements like that are rarely linked with action, as was the case

with the meeting I and several of my colleagues had with President Muhammad Husni Mubarak. It was a meeting that pleased me."

[Question] How can unity of the rank and file be achieved and a new leaf turned so that the past can be forgotten?

[Answer] The president said that he wanted all Egyptians to know that there was no quarrel between him and anyone whatsoever. He said that he wanted unity of the rank and file so we can confront all the circumstances that surround the country. The truthfulness of his expressions and objectives, about which no Egyptian who loves his country would disagree, gave us the feeling that this trend was reasonable and correct under all circumstances. In fact, it was particularly required under present circumstances.

For myself I can say that I am not the only one who has this feeling. This is the feeling of all those who were at the meeting which took place last Wednesday. In fact, it is the feeling of all Egyptians.

I think we advised each other to join the rank and file with all our energies, and we will fulfill this pledge. We will heed nothing but safety so we can see the road ahead with discerning eyes and clear hearts; we will sincerely cooperate with each other to serve our country, each according to the energy God gave him.

[Question] What are you asking from President Mubarak?

[Answer] I am not asking anything for myself, and he knows better than I do what Egypt wants. He has stated his domestic and foreign policy clearly, and nothing more need be said.

[Question] What in your opinion is the proper relationship between the opposition and the majority?

[Answer] Let me refer you to the course I abided by when I was in the People's Assembly for a period of time. I was in the opposition then. If you have an opportunity to read the records of the meetings, [you will notice] that I always used to say that the opposition was not a trap for the government and that it did not have a hidden agenda. The opposition consists of positions. Whenever a situation called for a certain posture, the opposition ought to assume that posture, expressing itself modestly and adhering to pure intentions and sound objectives.

If I were to refer you to the first posture [we assumed] in the People's Assembly, [that would be] when a letter submitted by Mr Mustafa Kamil Murad was read. That letter, which was read by the speaker of the People's Assembly, stated that President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat had chosen Mr Mustafa Kamil Murad to be opposition leader. So I stood up and said, "We are the ones who got our seats as a result of free elections. It is up to us to name the leader of the opposition. Let those who are entitled to something keep what they are entitled to." I referred [then] to the first precedent that had occurred in Egypt regarding the leadership of the

opposition when the late Bahiy al-Din Barakat was speaker of the House of Deputies and opposition leaders had then called [his office] the office of the House of Deputies. I said that only the members of the assembly may choose the leader of the opposition. I was supported in this by the vice president of the People's Assembly at the time, Mr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Sawi and also by Mr Mahmud Abu Wafiyah. I was not a member of the Misr party. The matter was presented to the assembly, and it approved it. This is the opposition.

I heard after that from those who were close to President al-Sadat that at that time he had welcomed what I had said. I don't know after that what caused him to change his attitude.

[Question] What are the changes in the situation that caused you to change your opinion?

[Answer] The fact that the positions of the opposition have changed is indisputable. This is because the course of others changed. There is no better indication of this than the fact that AL-MUSAWWAR Magazine is starting a dialogue with those who are said to be members of the opposition. The reader can now be familiar with other opinions. This is the prominent and principal feature of all democratic life.

#### Change of Outlook Welcomed

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 2982, 4 Dec 81 p 14

[Interview with 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Shurbaji, former president of the bar association by Ahmad Abu Kaf and Samirah Shafiq]

[Text] "I do not think the president should preside over a party."

Despite his illness Mr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Shurbaji said, "Our release was like a shining light that broke through the clouds. That shining light can either be 100 percent genuine or it can be less than that. What matters is that the complications which happened in 1970 do not happen this time.

"Today no creature on this earth can disagree with the head of state when he says, 'I have no cliques; I have no opponents; and we must all reform the country and correct conditions.'

"What is important is carrying things out. Therefore, we wanted to tell the president that we must have new agencies to establish equal justice. We do not want to begin a stage of falsifying matters in front of the president. I told him, 'We want you to be protected by the people and not by the guards who are in front of you.' "

[Question] How can unity of the rank and file be established and a new leaf turned?

[Answer] When national conscience is rising, everything becomes easy. If one thinks with one's national conscience, everything becomes easy. What matters is the purity of the spirit. When someone tells me to give up something, I give it up. Whenever the national conscience falters, events generate other events and nothing is solved.

[Question] What was your experience in the cell like?

[Answer] Prison is prison. It is an art of abusing people. Taking us into custody was also an art in not restraining us.

[Question] How were you told the news of the release?

[Answer] I was not told. Instead, an officer came to me in the hospital and told me to put on my clothes. Then I found myself in al-'Urubah Palace.

However, the feeling that the president did release us is a feeling that the method has changed, and it is also a feeling that one is on the right road.

When the president said let us forget the past and turn the leaf because forgetting one's pains is no loss, I felt that we were resuming our lives. In the view of the head of state we had become citizens; we were no longer strangers. Our country had reached a serious level of danger. Therefore, we want true democracy to be achieved and life to go on.

[Question] What is required for Egypt now?

[Answer] What is required for Egypt is unity of the rank and file, absolute righteousness and having an example to follow. The president of the country represents the citizen. This means that the petty official is to typify the [hard working] peasant on his land and the judge in his integrity. Like geography, I think liberation of the land is something that will eventually take place. It is inevitable that the land will be returned, but it is free men who will liberate it.

[Question] What are you asking from President Mubarak?

[Answer] I ask nothing of him but to set an example. My generation, my children and my grandchildren should see in him the example of what ought to be. We want a president who has real convictions because the country is starved [for someone like that]. Here would be the example.

[Question] How do you see the relationship between the majority and the opposition?

[Answer] The majority and the opposition must be frank with each other.

If I say the agreement is bad, I am not a traitor.



I do not want the president to preside over a party. I do not want him to carry the burdens of others. I want him to be the man of state. He is the one to be sought as an arbiter. We do not want the head of state to carry the burdens of others.

[Question] What are the changes in the situation that caused you to change your attitude?

[Answer] Yes, the view has changed.

We are supporters of an honest ruler, and we support him provided that he guarantee freedoms, [political] parties and a free press so we can keep bloodshed and violence away from our country.

A ruler must be given an opportunity to reform. If his intentions are good, the country will be able to redress its affairs.

#### Meeting Deemed Cathartic

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 2982, 4 Dec 81 p 15

[Interview with Dr Milad Hanna, member of the Grouping party by Ahmad Abu Kaf and Samirah Shafiq]

[Text] "The meeting we had with the president helped us get rid of many feelings that had lingered in our hearts."

Dr Milad Hanna, a professor at the College of Engineering and a member of the National Grouping party said, "It has been the custom in Egypt when a political group of people is released, that the group go to state security investigation where [members of] the group are given advice and are asked to make promises before they are released. Therefore, when we learned that we were on our way to meet the president, we were surprised greatly. There is no doubt that the meeting we had with the president helped us get rid of many feelings that had lingered in our hearts. A political prisoner has to be embittered because he continues to wonder why he was detained. We are hoping this gesture will be repeated until all the innocent who were detained are released."

Dr Hanna then added, "The worst thing about being detained or under arrest is boredom. Therefore, I am imploring [the authorities] that means for working be made available. We were in the Turah farm annex, which is a small building that has about 20 rooms, all of which overlook a common courtyard. It was usual that a so-called gathering take place in all prisons at 5 o'clock. Therefore, the detainees utilized the lengthy hours of the evenings and created a program they broadcast behind bars. We used to listen to speakers who spoke on various questions after they had been scheduled one day after the other. Mr 'Abd-al-'Aziz Muhammad, the attorney, was usually the announcer for these programs. One day I was taken by surprise as a column from AKHIR SA'AH Magazine entitled "A Snapshot" was being read. It was a letter to me from my wife, Evelyn Riyadh. The surprise was



that the letter was not one which my wife had handwritten to me; it was a published letter in which she expressed truthfully the feelings a wife has for her husband who is away because [he is working toward] a humanitarian goal.

"The fact is that things were very cruel in prison at the outset, but after mid October we felt that there was a considerable change."

[Question] How in your opinion can there be unity of the rank and file?

[Answer] The political expression, unity of the rank and file, does not exist. There is, however, cooperation between certain schools of thought over a specific program. It is here that such a timely program becomes a new leaf.

Egypt is at a crossroads. It is facing two principal roads: the first one is the road to democracy that leads to stability, and [the other] road is the one that usually leads to explosion. It is up to the people to choose. I am convinced, however, that it is the road of stability that will guarantee the safety of Egypt. Through dialogue, bomb sounds will become weaker and the course of reason and discussion will prevail. The road is a long one, but we have to begin. Besides telling people the truth, we must provide the popular classes with reasonable limits because people do not find shelter in words and they do not survive on empty stomachs. I am looking forward to stability in security matters as a basic turning point. [I am looking forward to that] being followed by a clear program that political parties and forces would agree upon as a minimum in the national question or in the various economic questions. I do not believe that there is one of us that does not want to take the land that we have left for us. We must also agree on housing programs so we can begin providing housing to the popular classes by stopping [construction of] luxury housing for 5 years, for example. We must then make maximum use of the housing that is available--the thousands of closed apartments--through simple regulatory operations.

#### Understanding of Democracy Urged

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 2982, 4 Dec 81 p 15

[Interview with Dr Hilmi Murad, vice president of the Labor party, by Ahmad Abu Kaf and Samirah Shafiq]

[Text] "I am hoping that the relationship between the majority and the opposition will be one based on an understanding of democracy."

About the step President Husni Mubarak took in releasing those who had been held in custody, Dr Hilmi Murad, former minister and member of the Labor party said, "This was a national step toward the restoration of stable conditions and the creation of a climate for unifying the national forces at this critical time which the country is experiencing in the area of

security, in the economy or in the area of completing the withdrawal from the occupied land. It was a true expression of democracy. The president did not issue the decision to release the detainees without meeting with them. He took the time to meet with them, and he spoke to them about his ideas and about the trends and policies he was thinking about. He told them that he was prepared to listen to any opinion or suggestion, and he declared that he would not listen to any information or reports against any one of them until he confronted the person in question with what was being said against him."

Dr Hilmi Murad thinks that turning a new leaf signifies that we begin engaging in a democratic dialogue and expressing opinions without being influenced by what happened in the period that just ended. But we must not drop the past from consideration; we must rather benefit from its lessons so we would not make the same mistakes again. This is what is meant by talking about the past; revenge and retaliation are not implied.

[Question] I asked Dr Hilmi Murad how he took the news of his release.

[Answer] It was the third consecutive day of my interrogation which began after I had spent 84 days in prison without being questioned. During the interrogation the investigating attorney received a message, and then he told me that that much investigation was going to be enough. He closed the official report and asked me to go with one of the officers to the socialist prosecutor who told me that I was being summoned to a meeting with the president at al-'Urubah Palace.

[Question] [What about] the period of internment?

[Answer] In the recent period, 10 days after the assassination, we were allowed many things that made life and dealing [with others] easier. For example, we were allowed to have newspapers and magazines; we were allowed to bring food; and we were allowed to go out of our cells. Only 2 days before our release we were allowed visits from second degree relatives with the permission of the socialist prosecutor's office. Before that [life] was harsh; we were completely isolated: no newspapers; no radio; and not even meetings with attorneys despite the fact that we requested such meetings which are a primary right in all the countries of the world.

Naturally these harsh conditions that we were in created an atmosphere of affection among those who were politically different. In fact, it was an opportunity for exchanging opinions and for reducing the causes of sharp differences in opinions. When Mr Fu'ad Siraj al-Din was taken to the hospital, some Nisrist and leftist colleagues bid him farewell with tears in their eyes.

For recreation we organized a local broadcast of a sort behind bars. It allowed some of us to talk about our recollections or to talk about a general subject. We benefited a great deal from this broadcast since our education and our inclinations were varied.

Dr Hilmi paused, and I asked him, "What are your hopes for Egypt?"

[Answer] I hope that people will put their efforts together to remedy the people's crises and problems. I hope that democracy will be achieved and a dialogue that would lead to the achievement of the best solutions to our problems become possible. I hope that attention will be called to errors and corruption so they can be resisted.

I hope that the withdrawal from the occupied land will be completed and that cooperation between Arab countries restored. I hope the Palestinian problem will be solved so that a comprehensive peace would prevail in the entire area.

I ask President Mubarak to apply this sound democracy carefully because it is the key [that will solve] all problems, and it is the road that will lead to political and economic independence. I ask him not to listen to the warnings sounded by the enemies of democracy. It was these warnings that in the previous administration led to the unfortunate events that occurred, events which delayed many reforms and accomplishments.

I hope the relationship between the majority and the opposition will be based on a true understanding of democracy so that each group could listen to the other with tolerance. I hope the general elections that will be held will be free, honest and representing the true wishes of the nation and the various political and intellectual trends that are prevailing among the people's ranks.

The change in my attitude toward the new regime is due to the change in the method of government and a change in the objectives the regime is trying to achieve and the directions by which it will abide. This is according to the statement the president made in front of the People's Assembly and the Consultative Assembly and in a few statements he made to the press. We hope to see this method, these directions and objectives in action in all areas, and we will make an effort to assist in the realization of this as long as President Husni Mubarak has asked all experts with specialties and knowledgeable people as well to participate in the treatment of existing problems.

#### Mubarak Praised

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 2982, 4 Dec 81 p 16

[Interview with Fathi Radwan, attorney, by Ahmad Abu Kaf and Samirah Shafiq]

[Text] "Mubarak speaks the truth, and his measures are firm."

At the outset Fathi Radwan told me that he intended to stay out of politics for only 1 year until he was through with the therapy he was undergoing for many of his ailments--his eyes, his gall bladder, [etc.].

Regarding President Mubarak's initiative of releasing the politicians he said, "No two people will disagree about the fact that the decision to release the politicians was one that deserved gratitude and praise. We can describe it as the beginning of a new age in which the government's method regarding those who differ with it in opinion and who do not violate the law will change.

"I hope this great decision will include the remaining brothers who were with us at the Turah Prison farm annex. I hope they will return to their homes, for they deserve the same treatment which we received.

"We also hope that the cases which accompanied the decision of last September 3 be brought to an end because these cases were the product of an unusual time. Altogether they do not represent a judicial measure as much as they represent a security measure which may have been justified by the conditions of those days, but these days have come to an end."

[Question] How in your opinion can unity of the rank and file be established?

[Answer] First of all, I think Egypt has never had any imbalance in the unity of its rank and file. There were different points of view in some political affairs. The ruler could have found out that those who held a different opinion from his did not harbor any hatred for him personally and wished him no harm or injury. Second, [he could have found out that] their disagreement with him stemmed from their concern for public interest. The difference could have been settled.

This abnormal situation which could not have continued resulted in [the situation] which we came to, unfortunately. Now that this cloud has been dispelled after Egypt paid a high price, I would like to affirm that the unity of the rank and file is sound, and even though we disagree with each other about substantive or secondary matters, this is the nature of civilized nations [living] under free regimes.

If the ruler's conduct were like that of the leader of a nation and if he were to present the nation's problems candidly to its citizens, inviting their leaders and men of thought, albeit quietly, to share their thoughts with him so he can find out what they would advise, he would find out that all of them, from the right to the left, will place themselves, their experience and their knowledge at the country's service selflessly and disinterestedly.

[Question] What is required then for Egypt?

[Answer] Two things are required. The government is actually undertaking one of them: it is confronting the criminal aspect [that played a part] in the recent events in an effort to establish security. The second matter [that is required] is the resumption of our political life on the broadest scale without having this public life with all its branches, its resources, its sources and aspects of its activity impeded by terror and fear.



But if fear of terror succeeds in deferring public life, it would be as though we were tormenting life with our own hands, and this would be worse than terror itself. Terror destroys the material side of life; [destruction of] the cultural and intellectual side [of life] destroys the spirit of any nation and turns it over to all evils and dangers.

Naturally I am hoping that all kinds of newspapers will come back, but as long as the political leadership thinks this is premature, we do not insist on our request although we do ask that the absence of these newspapers not be prolonged. It has been established that not a single crime was committed while these newspapers were active and were being published and that everything that happened did after they disappeared from the scene.

[Question] How do you see the sound relationship between the opposition and the majority?

[Answer] I think that when the air is cleared and peaceful intentions are established, finding grounds for dispute will not be possible. There is no opposition that is destructive and another that is constructive; there is no criticism that is allowed while other criticism is not. All these are terms that cropped up early in the crisis and with the political crisis.

There is a law defining the boundaries of what is and is not permissible in criticism and in political statements and activities. Anyone who violates the law, be he a writer, a speaker or an advocate of an idea, would have the book thrown at him and would be taken to trial and to prison. But those who do not violate the law and who abide by it are to be protected by the entire nation. Infringing upon them would be an infringement on the whole nation.

If the opposition and the majority honor this principle and abide by it, affection and cooperation would prevail in their relationship. If once in a while one of them becomes intolerant of the other, this is the law of life. Not every one who opposes the majority is its enemy and an enemy of its leadership. Nor would that person be violating public interest or be a client of the nation's enemies.

[Question] What are the changes in the situation that caused you to change your opinion?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the arrival of Mr Husni Mubarak was accompanied by a major change. One of the most important things felt by citizens was the fact that the new president is first of all a man who does not care about appearances. This is what he called in his speech of November 25 "the image." He is a man of few words, and when he speaks, what he says indicates that he thought about what he wanted to say.

He also speaks the truth, and it is clear that his decisions are decisive.

The contact he made with the opposition is nothing but an indication of the intellectual and spiritual character of this new administration. We have to



broaden the benefits of this contact, and we are not to pursue the usual course of hypocrisy which spoils rulers no matter how good they are. We have to proclaim sound opinions publicly. However, public proclamation of sound opinions does not constitute foul language, nor does advice given with vehemence constitute an embarrassment to those who are being advised.

In my opinion the virtues which characterize the new president are early signs of a new age in which earnestness and honesty, instead of the plunder of public funds, will prevail. It is an age in which work instead of numerous false promises will prevail. In fact, the new president's virtues constitute an invitation to every earnest and sincere person to extend his hand and to join in common national action.

[Question] Were you expecting news of [your] release?

[Answer] We were prepared for the news a few weeks before it came. There were reports from more than one source that the investigations of the socialist public prosecutor would be completed quickly and that we would be released after the investigations were completed.

We waited for the good news to be carried out. Then the cruel and harsh prison restrictions were somewhat relaxed, and some of us were transferred to Qasr al-'Ayni Hospital. We continued to hope until November 25 when we were told that 10 of our colleagues were being summoned to a meeting with the socialist prosecutor.

We did in fact go to his office, and we waited for a while in a police car in front of the building. Then the car was driven in a direction that could lead to the Turah Prison annex. A few of us exclaimed, "We are going to jail!" And at that time the officer accompanying us replied, "What jail? You are going to al-'Urubah Palace."

We were all overwhelmed with joy, and we exchanged pleasantries and jokes until we arrived at al-'Urubah Palace. The meeting took place in a merry atmosphere that called for joy and mirth.

[Question] Did the broadcast that you put together in the cell have an audience? How was it?

[Answer] Those who were in custody organized a nightly broadcast that began every evening and lasted at least 2 hours. Most of them took part in it with talks, lectures, reminiscences, poetry, songs and patriotic songs.

I recall that the late 'Abd-al-'Azim Abu al-'Ata delivered two papers about the problem of agriculture in Egypt. I had not heard or read anything like them. Dr Milad Hanna also delivered a paper about the housing crisis. Muhammad Hasanayn Kaykal spoke about the role of the late Kamal al-Din Salah in the Palestine war. After that talk I spoke about Kamal al-Din Salah's role in Somalia and in the liberation of Africa.

Lectures were delivered about Shawqi, Salim Hasan, Taha Husayn and others.

These papers were not hollow oratorical expressions; they were profound studies, and some of them contained information that was not known to all of us.

#### Feelings About Release Described

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 2982, 4 Dec 81 pp 16-17

[Interview with Safinaz Kazim, journalist, by Ahmad Abu Kafa and Samirah Shafiq]

[Text] "I feel as though I were representing the pregnant women and the mothers of newborn infants in al-Qanatir Prison."

"Before anything else I would like to express this thought that I have on my mind. Reappearing on the pages of AL-MUSAWWAR after being forbidden to write for 10 years and 4 months, from August 1971 to December 1981, is a sweet return. It is just the way I would have liked that return to be, with my head held high, after having received satisfaction. Although I am appearing in AL-MUSAWWAR in this framework, as the subject of a newspaper article and not as a journalist, [I am not unhappy] because never in my journalistic views did I distinguish between the two forms."

Safinaz Kazim then added [the following] about being taken out of custody and out of the cell: "Let us turn a new leaf."

[Question] How did you receive the news that you were being released from custody and that the 85 days of painful and unjust imprisonment were coming to an end?

[Answer] On Tuesday, 24 November 1981 one of the female prisoners came back from being questioned by the prosecution. She was jumping with joy because the prosecution, for humanitarian motives, was going to release her immediately because she had been taken away from her child who was still nursing. We were all delighted because this mother had been a nervous wreck. We expected her to be released that same night. Because I was in solitary in a cell by myself, I did not know that night whether or not she had gone out.

On Wednesday morning, 25 November 1981 I was awakened by the sound of a key [turning in the lock]. It was Mrs Lawzah, the prison guard. It was 7:30 a.m., and I went to take my cold shower to train my body to endure and to be patient. Because contact between me and the other female prisoners was forbidden, the only chance we had to exchange a few quick words came in the early morning hour in the bathroom. The nursing mother knocked on the door of the bathroom. She was breaking down and she said, "Safinaz, I will not get out. Investigation sent a message that [my status] was to be changed to that of detainee."

Despite the icy shower I was burning [with anger]. I returned to my cell, dejected and hurt. I was fasting, and I lay down staring at the ceiling, reviewing [in my mind] Egypt's humanity and civilization over 7,000 years. Tears came to my eyes, and suddenly I heard again the key of Mrs Lawzah, the prisoner guard. She told me, "Get dressed and gather your belongings together." I thought I was being sent to another prison, but then I heard her say, "It's being said that they are being released. Is this possible?"

I remembered our colleague whose release had turned into detention. I was afraid that my status would be changed from that of being in custody to detention, and this would be worse.

When I went out to the prison gate, I found the officer who was assigned to take us from prison. He was laughing heartily, and I told him quite seriously, "If I am going back to detention, let me stay here." Nawal al-Sa'dawi came from her ward. I had not seen her for more than 1 month. We walked out together and we got into a car. Nawal was talking continuously, and I was silent. I was saying that I will not believe this until I find my child in my arms.

We traveled a long distance, and I found out that we were in Heliopolis. Believe me, I had the feeling that we would meet President Husni Mubarak, and I whispered to Nawal the thought that had come to my mind. Then the car stopped in front of al-'Urubah Palace, and the officer who was accompanying us told us with a bigger laugh that we were going to meet the president. At the height of her enthusiasm Nawal swore that I was a genius. But I felt like Cinderella.

[Question] [What about the] meeting with President Mubarak?

[Answer] When we sat down to meet with Mr Husni Mubarak, I felt I was representing all mothers, pregnant women and nursing mothers. I had left them all behind, tossing and turning at the al-Qanatir Women's Prison. I felt that I would not be able to enjoy freedom by myself. It was natural after we sat down, having been invited to shake hands, to speak openly and to cooperate with each other, that I declare my request and implore the president that a civilized and humanitarian practice and custom be firmly established in Egypt: no mother, nursing mother or pregnant woman was to be thrown in a cell by herself or in a ward. I myself had experienced prison when I was pregnant, when I was a nursing mother and then as a mother. In all these cases I felt that Egypt was not Egypt and that what was happening was not becoming to it. Egypt can only be compared with itself.

There were 1,636 of us in custody. Of this number there were 13 married and unmarried women, and then our number increased.

The cloud was removed from 31 of those, and Nawal and I were the only two women among them, thanks to the course-setting, decisive and good-natured initiative of Mr Husni Mubarak, the president. I know that one rain drop precedes a rain shower. We are the rain drop, and we are hoping that it will rain soon, a steady and a splendid rain, God willing. Thank God for everything.

## Support for Mubarak Urged

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 2982, 4 Dec 81 pp 16-17

[Interview with Ahmad Farghali, member of the Labor party by Ahmad Abu Kaf and Samirah Shafiq]

[Text] "I call upon all parties to stand behind this man."

Regarding President Mubarak's initiative to release [the prisoners], Ahmad Farghali, member of the Labor party said, "This step was one of the most daring decisions made by President Mubarak so far even though he told us, "My decision about you came 1 week late." This was a step taken by a strong man who has his hand on the pulse of the nation. He is a man who is turning a new leaf for all the forces. It is an ethical and a civilized step.

[Question] The politicians who were in custody had a voice broadcast. How did they do that?

[Answer] The voice broadcast included all trends, and everyone who had a point of view took part in it. The broadcast discussed the question of stimulating production and some ideas concerning the incident of 4 February, and Haykal spoke about his travels abroad.

After that the discussions were changed, and a subject was chosen for discussion, such as the question of democracy and that of free speech. After the cells were opened, the broadcast turned into discussion groups. The last subject to be discussed was that of agricultural land and the High Dam.

The fact is that I commend AL-MUSAWWAR Magazine for the interview it conducted with the opposition, despite the intelligence of the editor-in-chief. We discussed the interview as the magazine's first progressive initiative. We had needed that dialogue for a long time to explain positions.

[Question] What is required now for Egypt?

[Answer] What is required is work; every person is to do his job.

The fact is that when I heard the president, I realized that these days a hypocrite would not dare dissemble. All those who fawn and flatter will have to go away. This man has assumed a firm position that is his own. He has no place for all these kinds of people.

[Question] What are you asking from President Mubarak now?

[Answer] I hope the president will permit the newspaper of the Labor party to resume publication.

I ask that the president's dialogue with the opposition continue. I am certain that this man will bring back the alienated Arab countries to the



fold of their parent, Egypt. I also hope that the president will allow the journalists and university professors who had been removed from their positions to return.

[Question] What would be the style of the dialogue [that would take place] between the opposition and the majority?

[Answer] So far the opposition is not getting what it is entitled to. In order for the opposition to speak courageously and sincerely for Egypt, it must have capabilities. Discussion of vital questions must continue, not only by the opposition, but also by independents.

[Question] One last question: what are the changes in the situation that have made you change your attitude?

[Answer] As far as I am concerned, I will not hide from you that the mere fact that we were taken from [prison] cells to al-'Urubah Palace and surprised by a meeting with the president was something great. We would never have dreamed of something like that in the past.

I am certain that this man is honest.

All people in the various factions should stand behind an honest man.

#### Prison Experiences Described

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 2982, 4 Dec 81 pp 16-17

[Interview with Dr Nawal al-Sa'dawi, [physician], by Ahmad Abu Kaf and Samirah Shafiq]

[Text] "I used to write in my mind for five hours every day while I was in custody."

Regarding President Mubarak's initiative to release those who were held in custody Dr Nawal al-Sa'dawi said, "The step that President Mubarak took to release political prisoners is a good step that helps one become optimistic. It encourages knowledgeable people to have some sense of safety which they did not have before. Forgetting the past means benefiting from the mistakes of the past and not repeating them. There should be statutory and moral guarantees for writers. Unity of the ranks does not mean identical opinions. Unity means respect and consideration for different opinions and coming up with the best opinion. There are two kinds of unity: a superficial unity that is based on obedience, submission, hypocrisy and the repetition of what is said in every age; and another unity of the rank and file which is the product of a struggle between different opinions. That is followed by harmony [which is achieved] in the interests of the majority and the country.

While I was in custody I used to write in my mind for about five hours every day. It was an astonishing and a curious process of training the



memory. We used to discuss and talk about politics, art, religion, and women's rights. We were a very curious group, [ranging in ages] from 16-- that was a young educated woman--to women in their forties, fifties and approaching sixty. We came from different generations: there were women wearing veils and there were others who were not wearing them and who were intellectually liberated. Sometimes we felt that we could be in Sartre's purgatory, and sometimes we felt we were in paradise. We were trying to overcome psychological and physical defeat by singing and exercising.

Dr Nawal paused and then said:

I was not told the news of the release. I was taken away, and once again I found myself with my suitcase in a car. No one told me where we were going until we arrived at the president's residence. It was a surprise, especially since I had stayed up that day writing him a letter that I was going to find some way to send to him. Naturally, it had not occurred to me that I was going to deliver it myself! In the letter I had asked him to break the siege that could be set around a ruler. I asked him to break through the layer of people who stood between him and knowledgeable people. I asked him to be patient with other opinions so he can build bridges of trust between the ruler and the majority. I asked him to leave the National party, and I asked that a new trend be set toward real democracy. I asked that emphasis be placed on production, on the just distribution of power and wealth and on setting priorities to meet the basic needs of the majority, provided that the law does not discriminate between a small person and an important person and that the ruler not be isolated.

[Question] [What about] the sound relationship between the opposition and the majority?

[Answer] In my opinion the relationship between the majority and the opposition is one based on the dialectic of different opinions and the attempt to use an authoritative argument to persuade the other opinion. The points on which there is agreement cannot be known unless the points on which there is disagreement are known. It is through a dialectic process that sounder and more beneficial ideas become evident and intellectual fertility is generated. The absence of opposition means infertility, stagnation, and inertia.

[Question] What is the reason for your recent change in attitude?

[Answer] As far as I am concerned, I feel that the change [in Egypt] covers several levels. It includes the relationship between the opposition and the majority: the opposition is being respected; it is being granted freedom; and it is not being hurt as was the case in the past. This began with the release of those who were in custody, and we hope that the others will be released. I see a change in the pursuit of new policies with regard to production and just distribution. [I see] a reliance on experience and knowledge and not on the hypocrisy and bravado of the party of middlemen. [I see] work and freedom being encouraged. I heard these statements when I

was in jail. All this encourages one to be optimistic and [indicates] that there is a sincere effort to comply with the wishes Egyptian men and women have for change.

#### Haykal's Views, Reactions Revealed

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 2982, 4 Dec 81 pp 18-22, 100-101

[Interview with Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, former editor-in-chief of AL-AHRAM, by staff and other reporters, reported by Ahmad Abu Kaf and Samirah Shafiq]

[Text] "How can a self-respecting citizen who loves his country withhold confidence from Mubarak?"

"Three hours after al-Sadat was assassinated President Mubarak told me that he felt sorry for the one who will take over the affairs of Egypt. The shock made him unaware that he was that man!"

"Mubarak was born twice in two storms of blood and fire: the first time was in the October War, and the second time was in the Greek tragedy that occurred on the reviewing stand."

The Grouping party should have said yes and then attached the conditions it wanted to that.

"The principal problem now is who we are; what do we want; are we part of the Arab homeland; where is Egyptian security; and where does Egypt's interest lie?"

"We must form a partnership in prosperity with the Arab homeland; if the Arab world wants to protect itself, it will have to establish ties with Egypt."

"I wept in prison when I learned of al-Sadat's death. The prison warden and the prison investigation officer will attest to that."

"I was not enthusiastic about the policies of the majority or the positions of the opposition; they had left the principal question and become lost in trivia."

While we in AL-MUSAWWAR were thinking of conducting a comprehensive interview with Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, the man's choice was obvious: that his first encounter with the Egyptian reader after an absence of 8 years would take place on the pages of AL-MUSAWWAR also. Although he had refused to grant interviews to the press and had maintained silence with the Egyptian press, he did come to the large meeting room at Dar al-Hilal in person. For 4 continuous hours on a winter night, the first rainy night this year, the ardor of his talk dispelled the chill of that night, and the heated dialogue turned the frost into a rare glow and presence.

A limited number of AL-MUSAWWAR's correspondents were supposed to attend the meeting. However, a large number of young journalists, who are doing their internships in AL-MUSAWWAR, a large number of editors in other magazines and even workers insisted on attending this unique meeting.

Haykal welcomed everybody's presence.

Although conducting an interview with a major correspondent like Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal appears to be difficult and despite a flood of more than 50 questions, Haykal responded to all the questions.

The results of the interview were surprising, even to those who had taken part in it. This was perhaps the first time in the past 8 years for Haykal to talk with that much liberalism and with a desire to meet the other point of view halfway.

It is certain that regardless of the degree of difference, all the various parties can find a [common] ground on which they can agree to confront these differences if they wished to do so. Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal was clear and specific in this when he said, emphatically, "The current situation in Egypt requires every Egyptian to define his position with total clarity."

The man has just come out of prison. Only 96 hours separate him from 90 days he spent in prison. Nevertheless, he has overcome the bitterness of the spirit and he has risen above all trivia, arriving at a position where he can say, "Egypt first and Egypt before all else." It was for this position that this interview took place, and that interview would have been impossible had it not been for the new leaf in Egypt's life.

The editor-in-chief of AL-MUSAWWAR: "I am honored to say that when I joined AL-AHRAM [as a correspondent] reporting on events, Mr Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal was editor-in-chief of AL-AHRAM. I worked with him for 24 years, and I believe that I am one of those people who had an opportunity to know him closely. We learned a great deal from him. When Mr Haykal came to AL-AHRAM, he was actually able to establish a new school of journalism in Egypt. It was a school that combined at the same time equanimity with commitment and earnestness with modernism.

"It was in this meeting room that Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, president of the Labor party, came to talk with us. This room was also the scene for another dialogue we had with the leaders of the Grouping party. AL-MUSAWWAR is fortunate for playing this role. Today, Mr Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal is coming to us to talk. As far as he is concerned, there are no restrictions on any questions in the interview. Mr Haykal is prepared to answer all questions.

"On our part we are committed [to provide] an honest report [of what transpires here]. We hope the dialogue will be fruitful, and we thank Mr Haykal for accepting [our invitation]."

Mr Haykal: "I am not going to be able to respond to Mr Makram. I've been in a cell for 90 days, and I'm afraid I may have lost the habit of conversing with civilized people. The people who were available to me [in prison] were good people; they were nice and pleasant, but they did not talk about culture and politics, starting with Sergeant 'Abd-al-Tawwab to Sergeant

'Abd-al-Jabbar. In those 90 days I lost the habit of communicating, and I lost the reading habit. However, I do consider my coming here to constitute perhaps in some form my last word in the Egyptian press. After that I am not going to be a party to the game of the Egyptian press. I am delighted to be here in Dar al-Hilal where Makram Muhammad Ahmad and this group of young people [work]. I came here to say a few words, and after that I will no longer be a party to the game of the Egyptian press. [Now] I am at your command."

[Question] You said after your release that you would support President Mubarak with all your might. Where is the objective aspect of this position, and where is the personal aspect? What form will your support for President Mubarak take, and how will you practice this support?

[Answer] Let us begin with the personal aspect and the objective aspect. We must look at the political picture [we had] before President Mubarak came to power. What was it like? I am claiming that this fall, I can look back at last fall and say that it was "the season of resentment in Egypt." This is the title of a group of essays I am trying to write. If we were to look at the political and social map in Egypt, we would find that there were four parties [on the scene]. There was a regime that began behaving with wrath; there were Islamic groups that appeared to be behaving with wrath and rage; there was a Coptic sense or feeling that appeared to be behaving with wrath too; and there was a public opinion that in some form or because of social and economic problems appeared to be dissatisfied too. Accordingly, we embarked upon this fall, actually the season of resentment. All currents actually converged, and we were suddenly faced with an explosion and a storm. Lightning struck on the reviewing stand on 6 October. It seemed that there were waves of resentment and unrest in the country and that these collided. What did they do? First of all they revealed the cover that was on the surface, uncovering our real problems and presenting them on the scene. It appeared as though there was a problem with terror; it appeared that there was a sectarian problem; and it appeared that this sectarian problem or this problem with terror was in fact another aspect of a greater and a more profound problem, which is the economic and social condition in the country. It also appeared that there was a crisis of the opposition and a crisis of democracy.

Many things were uncovered in the light of this stunning instant which you all saw. I did not see it, but an image of the truth in Egypt did emerge on that reviewing stand. No one in the world would say that terrorism is an isolated phenomenon. I cannot imagine that. Unfortunately, terrorism occurs constantly when there is a climate of violence, when one finds, for example, 20 people taking part in an assassination operation and when one finds groups arming themselves to this degree. This happened in the context of the so-called sectarian sedition. The facts, however, were more serious than that, and the true state of affairs did affirm that the situation in Egypt was not what it appeared to us to be. At least it was not what it appeared to be on the surface.

When a new man comes along to shoulder the responsibility--circumstances had forced that responsibility on him--when he says let us turn a new leaf



in Egypt's history; when he says to all the forces, "Let us work together again;" and when he tells all the forces that he is prepared to accept participation and other opinions, how can any self-respecting Egyptian citizen--in my judgment, a citizen who is concerned about his country--withhold from him this opportunity, withhold from him this confidence or withhold from him this cooperation?

You are asking about the personal part and the objective part of my attitude toward the new president, and I say that I will take myself completely out of this matter which was the subject of discussion in prison. You can imagine [how things were like] in the first week for we were not allowed to leave the cell. I apologize for digressing, but I may cover many questions with this reply. The first 2 days we went to a place called the receiving prison. While there, I found myself with some of the religious groups and with some other people who were not members of religious groups. I told myself I will play the journalist and find out what these young people have on their minds. I actually began such an exploration into the mind of a young man, and it was a very exciting [experience]. I had an ongoing dialogue with him for 3 days, moving from one cell to another and still another. Actually, I was trying to follow up and to study [what they had on their minds], and I immediately realized that this was part of a major operation. We had this opportunity in the receiving prison. After that we went to a place called the Turah farm annex. At first we spent a whole week confined to our cells. Then we were allowed to get out of our cells in two groups for 15 minutes every morning. After that we were allowed 15 minutes in the morning and 15 minutes in the afternoon. This went on for about a month. Afterwards we would get out of our cells for 1 hour in the morning and 1 hour in the afternoon.

In the last month things began changing entirely. Prison turned into [a place for] discussions, and we had discussions with all the factions. It may surprise you to know that when I was in the receiving prison, I told the warden, the national security representative and the public investigating representative that I was not at all impressed by the way they were confronting these groups. I told them that I was afraid of terrorism being practiced against individuals [and that I was afraid] of the assassination idea. I went out of my way and beyond my limits as a prisoner and I said that I feared that the problem was bigger than this view and I said I was afraid of terrorism against individuals. After that you ask me about my attitude toward President Husni Mubarak. I was greatly surprised when I saw him after we left al-'Urubah Palace. He was telling us that 3 hours after the assassination he felt sorry for the man who would shoulder the responsibility after Anwar al-Sadat. He did not realize for 3 hours that he was that man.

When it became evident to him that he was that man, [he told us] that he did not want the job, and I believed everything he said.

We then have in front of us a man who came [to power] under difficult circumstances without wanting [to have that responsibility]. Then after coming



to power he announced that he wanted to turn a new leaf. Can you imagine any patriot withholding from him what he asked for? Let me tell you that after his first address and after his second address my comrades in prison asked me what I thought. I said this man wants to give himself a new beginning. It is evident from his words that he is a man who saw the truth himself, and I told them that this man was reborn twice in two storms of blood and fire: once in the drama of the October war, and the second time in the Greek tragedy that occurred on the reviewing stand on 6 October. I saw his conditions as those of a man who wanted to give himself a new beginning because all the forces that were raging in the storms of wrath that began in the fall appeared to be at distant crossroads.

When we went out [of prison], and we heard the president in al-'Urubah Palace, I felt that he was talking directly, plainly and realistically.

President Mubarak must have a tremendous store of moral courage and an ability to grasp matters fully for receiving us in al-'Urubah Palace. Although there were people who portrayed us as enemies of the regime, I can truthfully say that a large number of them were engaged in discussions with the regime, and I can say that a large number and perhaps some of them were not prepared for a confrontation. This means that if someone had been sent to Fu'ad Siraj al-Din to ask him to stay at home and to stop any of his activity at least temporarily, he would have done so willingly. 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan is also a clear example of a stable and rational person. I noticed that some of our fellows were very upset with President Husni Mubarak's statement saying that those who are innocent will get out. They were saying the opposite. And it is true that we ought not to stay in custody until our innocence is established. But I used to tell them that the decisions to take us into custody were made before Mubarak assumed the responsibility [of the president's office]. We now represent one of the tasks that are pending on his agenda, especially since the political reality has its own provisions. When Mubarak delivered his second address opening the parliamentary session, [what he said] was extremely important. The address contained unequivocal social nods, and I am one of those who believe that the problem of Egypt is primarily a socio-economic problem.

[Question] So much for objective circumstances. What about the personal side?

[Answer] I can say that what Husni Mubarak did with us is unprecedented. I was taken from my home at 2:15 a.m. The director of the force [that came to my house] was a very nice man, and I asked him what time was it? [He said] it was 2:15, and I told him I was the writer who coined the expression of the early morning visitors. I was alone in Alexandria, and my second son, Ahmad, was with me. He was the one who woke me up at 2:15. He told me, "There are officers at the door from Alexandria security investigation, and they said they want you."

When I opened the door, I asked them to give me 10 minutes to prepare myself and pack a suitcase. Then when I am released, I am [escorted to] the presidential palace and I find myself meeting with the president.

I asked one of the adjutants there, "What will we do after that?" He said, "That's it! Go home!" How was I to go home? We had come in police cars. Fathi Radwan said, "All right, I will walk home."

We suggested that the police car take us back to Qasr al-'Ayni so we can pick up our belongings and leave. Fu'ad Siraj al-Din was in no hurry to get out. He said he would go to Qasr al-'Ayni, eat lunch, take a nap and leave at 5 o'clock. I told him, "Man, I will go home right away. I don't want to prove anything at all." 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan found the police car was not running, and after a while we told him the door will be locked. He exclaimed, "Locked?" and he got out of the car and began looking for a cab. It was actually a funny sight that we should go to the presidential palace and tell the police to give us a ride to the nearest place. Tell me, where would this happen if one were to compare the circumstances of [our] arrest with those of [our] release?

I don't know if you knew this or not, but we did not watch television; we did not listen to the radio; and we did not read newspapers. The day we learned about what happened to President al-Sadat, we asked if it would be possible to listen to the radio. We [argued] that the matter had to do with our country, but that was not possible. I went to one of the prison officers who was a nice man, and I told him, "I want you to answer one question. You watched television, didn't you?" He said, "Yes." I told him, "Answer one question for me, what was president Husni wearing at the funeral?" The man was surprised by my question, and I told him that was all right because it meant a great deal to me and I wanted to be reassured. When he came back, he told me that President Husni was wearing a dark blue suit and a black tie. I went to my fellow prisoners and told them that I was optimistic. They asked me why, and I told them that the president showed up for the funeral in a dark blue suit and a black necktie. They said, "What does that mean?" I told them it means that we are facing a man who does not want to make any pretenses. I was afraid that he might wear the well-known ceremonial military uniform.

The correspondent of THE GUARDIAN asked me if [I thought] our going to the presidential palace in this manner was somewhat melodramatic, and I said that I did not think so for one reason. I believed that it was more than that. I believed that [the gesture] above all implied true intentions and political astuteness. I don't know why President al-Sadat had tried to keep us away or to keep some of us away, and he tried to do that by force. But President Mubarak disarmed us all gently; he did that by talking with us and by taking the first step to turn a new leaf. Do you know what that meeting at al-'Urubah Palace meant to me? I closed the past, and I will not talk about the experience of the 90 days in prison. However, I ask myself could I have been able to stay silent about my experience if he had not met with me and if he had not said that we all have to turn the leaf and start with another one? Thus this gesture did not only imply moral courage, it also implied political astuteness.

[Question] What is the true story about the differences you had with the Grouping party in prison?

[Answer] I had discussions with some of our colleagues in the Grouping party, but the fact of the matter is that these discussions were more of a dialogue than anything else. I respect many of them. I thought that the position assumed by the Grouping party when it announced that it was not supporting President Mubarak was one that I disagreed with. Regardless of their reservations and the reservations of others, Egypt had no other choice but to say yes to Husni Mubarak, and Egypt should have told him yes. Members of the Grouping party could have said that they had some reservations, but what other choice did Egypt have if there had been no consensus on Husni Mubarak? I believe that the Grouping may have made a mistake in this; at least, from my point of view the party did. The party should have said yes even though party members could have attached conditions to that yes if they wanted to.

[Question] Was the question of your support for President Mubarak raised in prison?

[Answer] To be quite honest, of course it was raised. You can imagine that when we were in prison we were asked before the incident to implore President al-Sadat [for our release], but no one accepted our plea. When President Mubarak came, I imagine that some people volunteered advice on the basis of the fact that this was an opportunity for explaining our position and that if our good intentions become apparent, that may help our release. It was my opinion and the opinion of a large number of our fellows that even though we appreciated the dangerous situation of the country and even though we appreciated what the president had to say in his first speech, the opinion any one of us would give while he was behind bars would be suspect because it may appear to be an indication of weakness or an indication of coercion, and we were not forced to issue a statement of support. I don't know; I may have digressed quite a bit, but I may have answered many questions.

[Question] How can relations between Egypt and the Arab world be established on foundations that are more mature and more healthy?

[Answer] I believe that President Mubarak started on the right track. The Arab world owes him, and it owes Egypt the benefit of letting Egypt's bet run its course. Mubarak is entitled to get the go ahead now from the Arab world; he is entitled to hear the Arab world tell him, "Complete your journey and see how far you can go with your bet." This is because it is not logical that any one would call for the repeal of the treaty 6 months before the withdrawal. All voices must be silent. Regardless of our differences about the initiative, no one can ask President Mubarak for anything because Egypt paid a high price for this road [on which it is traveling].

[Question] What happened recently in Fez confirms the truth of the Egyptian view that the Arab world so far is not capable of settling the question of war or that of peace. The Arab world cannot go to war; it is not prepared for war, and it cannot [establish] peace.

[Answer] Egypt was being honored in front of the Arab world which it taught and whose ideas it formulated.

The Arab world had become accustomed to living with Egypt and to making its decisions with Egypt. It had become accustomed to having Egypt be its protector. This was before the Arab League. After that the Arab world became accustomed to seeing Egypt at the head of the Arab League, and it became accustomed to seeing Egypt's decision as its own. It became accustomed to depending on Egypt for everything, for defense, economics, education, the press and culture.

This Arab world had become accustomed to seeing Egypt always at the head of the Arab world and to acting accordingly. But suddenly the head was far [from the body] and the body was moving independently.

We have to understand the importance of Egypt in the Arab world and with the Arab world also.

[Question] What happened when you learned that President al-Sadat had been assassinated?

[Answer] Tears flowed from my eyes. The warden of Turah Prison, Col Mahmud al-Ghannam and investigating officer, Col Salah Shalabi can attest to that. They told me the news that al-Sadat had been assassinated to find out what my reaction would be. I asked them, "How did it happen?" They said, "It happened in the military parade." At that moment the only thing I could remember was that he had been a friend.

He had been my friend for a long time, and there were tears in my eyes.

We had lived together as friends for 20 years. I know that Anwar al-Sadat had a soft spot for my youngest son, Hasan. We used to visit each other, and all his children used to call me uncle.

I was the one [responsible for] the engagement of Nuha, the wife of Hasan, the son of Engineer Sayyid Mar'i. Sayyid Mar'i had asked me to ask for her hand for his son, and I told the president's wife that Sayyid wanted Nuha for his son and she told me to discuss this engagement with the president.

Despite all the differences between us when Nuha saw me last summer, she embraced me in front of people. She is like a daughter to me.

[Question] Do you think that the disagreement over Camp David is the urgent question now facing some factions of the opposition or some of the Arab countries?

[Answer] There are forces saying no to Camp David; the regime is saying yes; and all the problems are interrelated. However, there is a question that is almost elementary: unfortunately, we have to reconsider a number of principal questions.



--Who are we? What do we want? How do we achieve what we want?

The Camp David story is secondary. The more comprehensive question is that of Egypt's security and what Egypt wants and what is its identity. We are a country that is geographically located in Africa, but the country's security is tied to two basic centers: [the first one] is a southern center, that of the Nile Valley which for us is the water of life. This is a secure center where we are not to allow any increased activity or threat because that center has to do with the waters of the Nile.

[The second center] is the eastern center or the land bridge that joins Egypt to Asia. This has been the vital question in Egyptian security from the days of Thutmose III until the days of Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir.

The security of Egypt and the security of its Arab world hang on this center. We share this responsibility with the Arab world. Egypt has never asked anyone for handouts, and the Arab world has to protect itself; it cannot do that without Egypt's responsibility and leadership role. Egypt's cause is everyone's cause. Egypt is constitutionally, historically and geographically affiliated with the Arab world. If its security is one and the same as that of the Arab world, its prosperity ought to be one and the same as that of the Arab world.

I was talking with Kissinger once, and he told me, "Talk to me about Egypt." I told him, "If I were to talk to you about Egypt alone, [I would not be able to do so] because Egypt needs the United States, and if I were to talk to you about Arab Egypt, the United States needs Egypt."

Egypt has a role which it must not waste. Egypt is the country that taught the Arab world. We are the stronger party. If we were partners in Arab security, we would have to be partners in [the process of] comprehensive development.

[Question] The problem is that many of these countries have not recognized the importance of development in their countries. How would they help us develop?

[Answer] I can claim that none of the Arab countries can develop themselves by themselves apart from Egypt.

One must have human resources in order to develop. Everyone believes that the Arab countries are rich in oil, and you may imagine that all the oil revenues of Arab countries are almost equal to Italy's revenues. Nevertheless, development in the Arab world is subject to Egypt.

[Question] Will we go back once again to these old sensitivities about leadership?

[Answer] There is no one in the Arab world on any level who does not accept Egypt's leadership. There is one thing: the measure of leadership is proportionate to its ability to express everybody's hopes.



Leadership is a role that is given, and it is a role that is practiced, if one fulfills one's responsibilities and does not relinquish them.

We do not want to have in Egypt a repetition of what happened in Turkey when it turned its back on the Islamic world. Turkey lost the Caliphate; it lost its role and its identity, and it became an appendage for Europe. [Consider] what is happening in Turkey now.

Egypt had two principal roles in the Arab world: a modernizing role and a unifying role. When Egypt stopped shouldering its responsibilities, what happened in the Arab world is what we are seeing there now: a striving for small conflicting regional entities.

I can also claim that the Arab world has offered much to Egypt.

The Arab world gave Egypt between 12 and 16 billion dollars without any conditions or restrictions. We must place these figures in front of us so we can determine our strategic view in light of these facts.

How do we solve Egypt's problem? How do we industrialize? How do we develop? In agriculture we have 6 million feddans; there are boundaries for agricultural expansion; there is the objective of agricultural expansion; and there is a limited amount of water, even if we were to bring about an all out revolution in the methods of Egyptian irrigation.

[Question] The problem lies in the cultural disparity that exists between the Arab countries. That makes dialogue more difficult, not to mention an agreement on comprehensive development plans!

[Answer] I know that there are Arab countries that have not yet gone beyond the scope of a traditional law which is based on a tribal, a family or a semi-religious system. Egypt is the Arab country that has achieved the most progress in the period of transition to constitutional law.

However, we do have a significant socio-economic problem, and without solving that problem we cannot reach the stage of democracy or that of constitutional law. There is no solution other than that of comprehensive development in the Arab world. If Egypt is having population density problems thrusting upon it development as the only solution to its social problems, the Arab oil countries themselves are facing the problem of oil resources which are being depleted with time. This makes development for them mandatory, development that depends on resources other than oil. Arab oil countries cannot do that without Egypt.

[Question] Why did your relationship with President al-Sadat come to such dire straits despite the friendship you had for 20 years? Is it perhaps because you confused your role as a journalist with your political role? There are also people who say that you had monopolized [and set yourself up as] Egypt's incomparable journalist during the period of 'Abd-al-Nasir.

[Answer] Until this moment I don't know why President al-Sadat became

so annoyed with me. I am telling you the truth. This is a mystery that I am still trying to investigate. The fact that I do not know what this secret is may be the greatest journalistic failure of my life. I consider myself an average journalist, but I regard myself first and foremost an investigative reporter. However, I have not yet been able to clear the mysteries of this story. I imagine that I played a significant role in what was a very smooth transfer of power in 1970, and I claim that all my suggestions were followed because there were no other suggestions and also because when I made these suggestions I had no ties to any of the parties who were present in President 'Abd-al-Nasir's house on the night he died. On that night I went downstairs into the living room half an hour after the sad moment. President al-Sadat asked me, "What do you think, Muhammad?" I was the first one to speak, and I said that we were to adhere to two principles. We were first to appeal to the constitution and nothing else. What the constitution says is unequivocal. Second, to avoid haggling, we were not to talk about two subjects at the same time. If we were going to talk about the presidency, then no one was to talk about the prime minister's position. If we were going to talk about the prime minister's position, then no one was to talk about the secretariat of the party. However, we had to look into the presidency and into the position of prime minister first. I was talking about these matters then in my capacity first as a friend and, second--and this is important--as minister of guidance and as member of the National Security Council. I found that I was available at that moment.

After that I stood with President al-Sadat during that period. For a long period of time, for at least 3 years, I was one of the closest people to him. We had major differences during that period, and I did not hide my opinion. You and I know that I had had a long relationship with President 'Abd-al-Nasir, and I am claiming that our relationship was one of a continuous dialogue. It may be because I had turned down positions and because when I was offered the position of minister of guidance for the first time, specifically in 1956, I asked that I continue to function as a polemicist. I know the conditions of power in the Third World. One cannot think in the Third World without taking history into account. [If one does that], that would be madness. I knew the loneliness at the top of power, and I knew the importance of the chief official, the one who has the power to make decisions, having someone with whom he can discuss matters. I knew the institutions in the Third World were not strong enough and that decisions were ultimately made by [one] man.

I was 'Abd-al-Nasir's polemicist for 18 years, and I was al-Sadat's polemicist for 3 and a half years. This was not easy, and that was not easy, but I can certify that President 'Abd-al-Nasir was confident that my discussions with him were within the law and on the same strategic basis. With President al-Sadat I did not hide from him a single opinion. When we parted over our ideological difference on the matter of the first disengagement, I accepted his decision of course and I accepted it without bitterness. I heard of the decision at night. It was not a surprise to me. President Mitterand was the guest of AL-AHRAM at the time, and he was with us for 10 days.

President al-Sadat and I discussed this matter for 2 hours. On our way down to the car, President al-Sadat asked me as we walked down the stairs, "What did you decide, Muhammad? Is it the presidency or the ministry?" He had told me that considering the articles [I was writing] my staying in AL-AHRAM had become difficult because people had begun to feel that there was disagreement. We met after that, in the Shooting Club, and we tried to talk. I said, "All I want is to be a journalist. I believe I can work in any newspaper outside Egypt, if not in AL-AHRAM." President al-Sadat asked me after the meeting with Mitterand, "What is your decision?" I told him, "Sir, I don't want to be adviser to the presidency or to the cabinet." He said, "Is this your final decision?" I told him this was not a matter of a decision; it was simply something I could not do. On the stairs he said, "All right, Muhammad. It's no use." On Friday, I was told that Dr Hatim had been appointed chairman of the board of directors of AL-AHRAM, and that I was being appointed adviser to the president. I told [the staff] in AL-AHRAM to print the news in a normal fashion. The following morning I went to AL-AHRAM, and I called a meeting of the board of directors, the union committee and the Socialist Union, and I asked Dr 'Abd-al-Qadir Hatim to come over and to take over [the job] at AL-AHRAM. This was because I did not consider myself fired; I considered myself a man who had disagreed [with the president], and I accepted the responsibility for the disagreement.

We did not meet for 6 months of course, not until one day in October the president called. I was working on a book about the October War called "Al-Tariq Ila Ramadan" [The Road to Ramadan]. I got a phone call, and I think it was Fawzi 'Abd-al-Hafiz who told me, "The president wants to talk to you." The president asked me, "Muhammad, what are you up to?" And I told him I was working. He asked me, "What are you working on?" I said, "I am writing a book." He told me, "Leave the book and come and meet me at the al-Haram resthouse." I went to the al-Haram resthouse, and we sat and talked. At that time Kissinger was touring in the area because of the second disengagement. This was the first attempt we made to sit and talk, and the man was very pleasant. He listened to everything I said and he asked me, "What are you going to do?" I told him, "I am working on the book, and I have other contracts for other books. This is fine: I am content, and I am working." Then he said, "I am not asking you what you will do with yourself; I am asking you what you will do with me. I have decided to appoint you adviser. I have the resignation of Hafiz Isma'il here. What do you think about being national security adviser?" I said, "Let me tell you this: I have been out of the picture for 6 months."

I told him, "I want to have the place and status of a friend." He struck the table and he said, "No, no, no. This is confusing." We stayed friends until the book, "Al-Tariq Ila Ramadan" was published. It may surprise you to know that I was by his side during that period of the disengagement talks in Aswan. It may surprise you to know that I was by his side, and I believe there are live witnesses to that fact. I wrote for him, for example, the parliament speech announcing the failure of the second disengagement talks. I was the one who suggested opening the Suez Canal. He and all his advisers thought the canal should stay closed. We discussed the

opening of the Suez Canal for 3 days. After that he agreed. After that I wrote the speech [that announced] the cabinet change, and I discussed the speech with him. You will notice that in that speech I begged him to add several points about prices. How can anyone live on such a salary? We [also] talked about corruption. Those were the two questions I remember: the question of prices and the cost of living and the question of corruption. However, when I traveled in the Arab world--I was working on a book about the Arab world which has not been published because circumstances have changed--I carried messages from him to some people. I tried to ease the estrangement between President al-Sadat and President Hafiz al-Asad, and President Hafiz al-Asad is alive [and can attest to that].

After the October war I discussed this with President al-Asad in a way that had not been done before. I even told him, "Mr President, we know about you from President al-Sadat. I will not hide from you the fact that I always had my doubts about al-Ba'th in Syria, and President al-Sadat used to assure me that you were a man of a different kind. I even told the president, 'Mr President, you keep talking about Hafiz al-Asad. What is this Hafiz al-Asad? He is nothing but a member of the Ba'th party, an officer and an Alawi!'" President al-Asad exclaimed, "The hell you did!" I told him it was true; I did say that. But I was trying everything to bring the estrangement between them to an end.

Then I went to Iran during that period, and I went to see the Shah and talked over some matters with him. President al-Sadat had asked me to tell him a few things, and I did that. And then I came back to find a large-scale campaign against me in AL-AHRAM because of the book, "Al-Tariq Ila Ramadan." It was alleged that I had ignored in the book President al-Sadat's role. This was not true at all. Everyone who read the book, and that book is still available, and all the critics agreed that President al-Sadat was the hero of the book. No one can ever deny the role which that man played in the October war. But I found myself accused of falsifying history, and after that I was accused of going to the United States to spoil the president's trip to the United States. This did not happen at all. I was invited to the United States to address the convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates. The invitation came in March when we were friends, and I got his permission. I told him that I had received an invitation to go in October. He told me, "You must go." I went to Chicago, and it was natural that I go back to New York and make a short trip to Washington. So it was said that I had gone to the United States to spoil the president's trip. How can a journalist spoil a president's trip? Then when we came back from this trip, the campaigns against me went on and on.

I do not deny the fact that there were differences, and that I had different opinions. I told you that I was a polemicist, and this meant that there were different opinions. However, as a journalist I've always said and I've always believed that my duty was confined to explaining my point of view. I do not recall writing one word in which I overstepped my bounds. I want someone to show me one word wherein I had exceeded my bounds. I am proud of everything I have done, but this is another matter; it is



another question. I've never insulted or attacked [anyone]. I express my differences within the bounds of an objective analysis [of a given situation]. I may make a mistake, and I may be right.

[Question] Didn't you have such a difference with President 'Abd-al-Nasir?

[Answer] Some people think that my relationship with President 'Abd-al-Nasir was an easy one. President 'Abd-al-Nasir hardly read my articles so we can avoid any conflict. He knew that in general I was in agreement with the strategic course [he had set], but we did not discuss the articles at all. He once discussed an article with me that was entitled, "Change." The lead to that article stated that if the regime was not able to bring about change, then it would have to be changed. That day President 'Abd-al-Nasir called me at night and said, "Your article is written in the style Ghassan Tawini uses with Charles Helu. But I am not Charles Helu, and I hope you will not become a Ghassan Tawini." I told him, "Let's get together and talk about this." We met; we talked; and the matter was over.

[Question] As an observer, what comments would you make about the conduct of the majority and the opposition before the assassination?

[Answer] It was my opinion that that quarrel was unnecessary. This means that I am taking myself out of the matter. You are asking [for my comments] as an observer. I believe that all of us, beginning with the regime and all the way to the opposition, became involved in secondary problems and that we started talking about superficial matters. I may have said this to Mr Ibrahim Shukri when he talked to me to ask me to write for the newspaper of the Labor party. I told him that I hesitated to do so, and I told him that I thought they were going to present Egypt's real issues. For example, [I thought they would present] a strategic view of Egypt: where was Egypt going, and what was its identity? But we were all embroiled in a quarrel. Although I fully concede that a number of people who write in AL-'AMAL are competent, I believe that the style you are using needs to be tightened. We left Egypt's principal question; we became involved in quarrels over secondary matters; and we did not define the basic question. Quite frankly I was not enthusiastic about the policies of the majority, and I was not enthusiastic about the policies of the opposition. I thought the country needed, and I think the country still does need, a discussion of all the problems. Unfortunately, we need to re-define the Egyptian strategy, and we have to decide whether or not we are Arabs. These questions appear to be self-evident, but we have come back to them again. Where is Egypt's security? Where is Egypt's identity? We must go back and settle this. If we do not, we will continue to go around in a vicious circle.

I am not saying that now the time is right for such discussions, but it seems to me that President Mubarak will have to make such major questions and such large issues the subject of discussion when he is through with what he has to do immediately. It is not reasonable that we have not yet settled such very significant questions as the identity of Egypt, the relationship between religion and the state and the road to comprehensive development.

[Question] How was your talk with the young people who are members of religious societies and who were in custody? What dominates their minds?

You became somewhat enthusiastic when you met Khomeyni's guards at the American Embassy in Tehran when it was under siege, and it's been said that you were quite upset when you talked with the young men [who are members of] religious groups and who were with you in custody in Turah.

Why did you become enthusiastic in Tehran and upset in Turah?

[Answer] When I was brought to prison, it was my lot to be in cell number 14. I was alone in the cell. I had left my belongings outside the cell, taking with me only a towel, a toothbrush and toothpaste. I sat alone on a pile of five mattresses. After an hour, a sergeant opened the door and told me, "Let's have your mess kit."

I told him, "What mess kit?"

He said, "Your mess kit."

I told him, "I don't have one."

He said, "Here, so you can have your ration."

He had a can of molasses and three loaves of bread, and he said, "This is your breakfast, your lunch and your dinner. Are you going to take them or not?"

I said, "No."

He said, "If you don't take them, I will report this." He shut the door and left.

I spent 4 or 5 hours alone, and then an officer came to me. He was really a nice man, and he said to me, "Mr Haykal, may God be with you." I told him, "May God protect you too. What's the story? Am I in solitary confinement?" He said, "Would you like to go see who is in the cell next to you?"

I went to the next cell, and I found 'Umar al-Talmasani, Kamal Ahmad and Ibrahim Tal'at. The cell was crowded, and I said, "I'll go back to the first cell, but [please] find someone to volunteer to stay with me." Ibrahim Tal'at and Kamal Ahmad volunteered, and they came. After a while a group of young men from the al-Takfir wa al-Hijrah Society, [the Society of Atonement and Renunciation] came.

The officer came and said, "These young people are saying we want to talk with Mr Haykal." I told him, "Bring them along." They came, and we sat and talked. I told [myself] this would be an opportunity to write articles about "The Autumn of Resentment in Egypt." Actually, all their actions were full of resentment. The discussion was interrupted about 4 o'clock, and I was hungry because I had not eaten the molasses. I lost 12 kilograms [while

I was in prison]. At 4 o'clock I was taken out of the cell and told, "We will search the house, the office and the farm." I said, "At your service." We went, and they searched the house and the office. Then we went to the farm where the wife of one of the men who work on the farm prepared me a dish of fried eggs. Of course I was not going to be able to eat it.

She gave me five loaves of bread and six eggs, and when I came back to prison, I tried to persuade the warden to allow me to take the food and water. Finally, he gave me permission to keep the food. There was a young man called Akmal; he was the one who came to my cell again to complete the discussions.

[Question] What are the thoughts of those people, and what danger do they pose for Egypt?

[Answer] I believe that al-Islambuli is the other side of the same coin that is manifested by that merchant who made scores of millions dealing in narcotics. I have to be candid and to say that social contradictions had reached a dangerous level in this country, especially in the absence of the Egyptian dream and in the absence of grandiose national hopes.

For every young Egyptian graduating from the university the Egyptian dream has become going to work in the Arab world so he can get an apartment and have a family. Not everyone has an opportunity to do that. Let's take an ordinary young Egyptian university graduate. He wants to work; he wants to get married; and he wants to have a household. He does not have relatives who would send him to the Chase Manhattan Bank and get him [a job there and a] salary of 200 or 300 pounds. He would go and work in the normal way in an industrial or a commercial firm or in a public sector company and receive a salary of 40 or 50 pounds. How can he get married? His only dream is to travel to the Arab world.

At one time I used to say we had a universal Arab dream; we had socialist visions; and we would build and industrialize. What I fear for the most is the set of values that disappeared when money became the only value in society.

Let me tell you something. In the written questions I have in front of me someone is telling me that the income from my books is large. I would tell him, "Thank God for that." What softens this burden is my knowledge that I earned every piaster I have by writing. If I am taking advantage [of anyone], and this is not the subject of discussion here, I am taking advantage of Japanese, American, British or French readers.

A young man is asking me how much the outside world is paying me, and I would tell him that I was being paid 1 pound sterling per word for any book. I am proud of this, and I believe that every Egyptian journalist should be honored by this. You know that the publishing system in the world has several classifications.

There are leaders: Nixon is writing his memoirs; Kissinger, Eisenhower and De Gaulle [wrote theirs]. But this question has nothing to do with us.

Politicians or first class journalists come after that. The publishers who are dealing with me have classified me with 11 journalists in the world who are paid 1 pound per word. Then I find that someone is upset. I am to be called to account if I were to do three things: 1. if I said one word that hurt Egypt, and if I was accused of hurting Egypt, and not one word of what I allegedly said to hurt Egypt was ever published; 2. if I am not performing my social duty the best way I can; and 3. if I am not paying taxes, and I pay all the taxes that I have to pay.

My last book on Iran was translated into 31 languages. Unfortunately, my being in prison helped the book. When I was taken to prison, the book had been translated into 17 languages. When I came out of prison, I was told that it had been translated into 31 languages.

[Question] Let us go back again to the young men's extremist ideas.

[Answer] It is not true that I was pleased with those young men at the American Embassy. My discussion with those young men had become so heated that I told them, "You think that you are serving the Iranian Revolution. I am sorry to tell you that you have turned the revolution in Iran from a human phenomenon, into an Islamic phenomenon, a Shi'ite phenomenon and then into a Shi'ite phenomenon that is exclusive to Iran." I told them that in the Iranian Embassy. I tried to explain to the world what had happened.

My role in writing [about the revolution in Iran] was to explain to the world why what happened in Iran did happen. I was not giving the Iranian Revolution unconditional sympathy. I admired the revolution as a human phenomenon. I admired Khomeyni as a personality, but I described him in my articles as the bullet that was fired from the 17th century into the heart of the 20th century. He is a man isolated from the realities of the world, the realities of the modern age. However, he represents something special in the history of the Shi'ites. In other words, I tried to explain what happened in Iran. I am not interested in defending the Iranian Revolution, but I am interested in explaining its circumstances. I could see the problems that it had; I could see the nature of the contradictions it was experiencing and the tremendous mistakes that it made and committed. But this is the nature of history. If anyone were able to take history and place it in a sterile room, that would be fine. But this has not yet happened. The Iranian Revolution is a historic movement that made mistakes. But let's imagine that in the time of the French Revolution there was a press corps and that television, radio and newspapers did exist, how would the French Revolution have appeared? Anyway, I did not try to defend Iranian youth, and I did not offend Egyptian youth.

[Question] We see that the Iranian Revolution has consumed itself. It even seems anachronistic and out of date. What are we to expect from the Iranian Revolution with these massacres, the killings and the internal breakdown?



[Answer] Iran is a country whose problem is the fact that it is the most dangerous country in the world. Iran is a very important abyss caught up in the struggle between the two superpowers.

Iran, this barrier that stands between the Soviet Union and the oil wells and warm waters of the Indian Ocean, is the closest point the Soviet Union gets to the Indian Ocean. Iran is at the heart of the struggle. It is a torn country with special circumstances. It is an explosive mix of an ethnic minority and a minority denomination: Shi'ites and Persian nationalists. Persian nationalism is confined [to the area] between the Indian sub-continent and the Arab world. The Shi'ites are beleaguered.

The faith and patriotism of the minority got mixed up together and became one thing: a state whose faith, religion and minorities present a real problem. The Shah and the Pahlavi family had covered up all this. They tried to cover up all these incongruities, but the revolution blew that cover.

[Question] We believe that the most dangerous thing about the Iranian Revolution is the fact that clergymen seized power in the name of an Islamic government which destroyed all the institutions of the state.

[Answer] I don't know anything called an Islamic government, but I can accept the existence of a party called an Islamic party which functions openly as a political party in accordance with conditions set for political parties.

They have to tell us what their programs are. I saw some of them in prison, and I can say that Khomeyni was more enlightened than they are. [When I was] in Paris I told Khomeyni, "With religion, with religious artillery, you can destroy the old regime; but to achieve victory, you must have your own ground forces. It is the ground forces that would occupy the positions of your enemy. Without ground forces you will not be able to build a state. The state's ground forces are those political, technical and administrative cadres--the technicians, the professionals and the specialists." Finally, Khomeyni said in reply to my question, "The Islamic state is the state of justice, equality and freedom." I told him, "If we did achieve freedom, justice and equality, then we would be in agreement."

And here too [these young people] are talking about an Islamic state and Islamic development. There is no such thing as Islamic development, and there is no international policy that is Islamic. The question is how such a policy can be achieved. But I still say that I cannot imagine something called an Islamic government, for Islam in the final analysis means principles. There are Islamic principles, and the symbols of these principles are clear. When someone says that the symbols of the state ought to be justice and freedom, I accept that. But what is important is that they come up with a program. A political party means real programs presented to the masses. These programs provide answers to the questions and problems of development and democracy. When [these young people] talk about counsel in Islam instead of parliamentary representation, we ask them how will they achieve it?

[Question] What specifically upset you in the conversation you had in prison with the young people of the al-Takfir Society [the Society of Atonement and Renunciation]?

[Answer] I will give you a practical example. We entered the cell with Akmal, that young man that I talked about. After a while we started talking, and I found that his mind was completely closed. He began to talk. [I asked him], "Son, what do you do? What is your role in life?" He said, "I worship God." [I asked], "All right, son. How do you worship God?" He said, "I pray." [I said], "Son, you can worship God by praying, by working and by communicating with society." Then he began to recite, "I created mankind and the jinn in order that they might worship Me" [al-Dhariyat: 56]. [I said], "That is fine, but I believe that God created man on earth for a greater function than this. He created man to replenish the earth and to develop life because there is a part of God's light in man." He could not understand this. After that Ibrahim Tal'at and I talked about politics, and the young man left us and went to sleep on the mattress. I tried to draw him into our conversation, but he said that these were worldly matters that he did not discuss. "All right, son," [I said], "what will Egypt do?" He said, "No. These are worldly matters which I do not discuss." This is a young man in the College of Engineering!

When one analyzes this situation, one finds a young man facing a dead end road and preferring to withdraw [from that prospect].

[Question] Do you really have a plan to establish a daily newspaper? [If you do], where will it be?

[Answer] I am no longer involved with the Egyptian press at this stage. I am a citizen who has always preferred to live in his country. I have never been away from Egypt more than 1 month at any time. Unfortunately, I have continued to be like any peasant: after I've been abroad for 1 week I feel that I'm going to die and I want to return home.

[Question] Where do you see yourself in the opposition?

[Answer] I am a man who has ties of friendship with people in the opposition, but I do not consider myself [one of the] opposition. I was with some of them in prison. I am a man who claims to be a journalist and whose function is to speak his mind and express his views. I speak my mind and I express my views. Sometimes I agree with everybody, and sometimes I disagree with them. I never signed a petition. [I want you to bear in mind] that during Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir's administration, and I was one of the closest people to him, I was never a member of the leading organization. I used to get a Socialist Union form for 2 piasters a month like everybody else, but I never came close to the Socialist Union. You will remember that all the problems I had were with the Socialist Union or with the leading organization.

[Question] Were you a member of the Central Committee?

[Answer] Would you like me to tell you how I became a member of the Central Committee? President 'Abd-al-Nasir asked me to serve on the Central Committee after the 1967 defeat because the circumstances required the interaction of all opinions. The papers for my candidacy, in handwriting other than mine, were filed; I got the votes; and I found myself elected. I created more problems than I solved in the Central Committee.

[Question] What we see around us in the Arab world sometimes confirms to us the fact that the Arabs do not want to exert themselves in an effort to understand Egypt.

[Answer] That's what I told President Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi during his last visit to Egypt in 1973 after the October war. He was going around the world trying to persuade [everybody] to form a union. I used to tell him, "Brother Mu'ammār, you may love Egypt, but you have never been able to understand it." This may be the problem of many people who love Egypt. The entire Arab world loves Egypt, but the Arab world and many people have not, unfortunately, had the chance to get to know the real Egypt. Unfortunately, we have the problem of an Arab world that sees only the wrong sides of Egypt. Arabs either see Egyptians going to the Arab world looking for work, or they visit Egypt. And unfortunately you know where they go [when they come to Egypt] and where they spend their money. Neither this nor that is the real Egypt. The Arabs come here, and they live on the fringes of society. They do not see Egyptian society. They know Egypt's role; they like Egypt's culture; they are comfortable in Egypt; they are dying to come to Egypt, but it is still a fact that they do not know Egypt.

[Question] President Mubarak said that there would be no restrictions on any ideas. Do you expect the censor to release the 6 books you published in the last 5 years? The second question is this: Do you expect the journalists who are [living] abroad to come back to Egypt and to play their part under the new situation?

[Answer] I am one of the first who appreciates the circumstances of his country. I have defined my choice. I am staying in this country. I am part of it.

I am loyal to this country, and I will not leave. All this time I have not been away from Egypt for more than 1 month even though many people thought that I was living abroad. I have never and I will never accept this business about being a political refugee. I said that in writing in AL-AHRAM. There is no work for me outside Egypt. I have no home outside Egypt. I have no grave outside Egypt. The fact that my books are or are not forbidden is a matter of circumstances. I talk about what pertains to me. Under the present situation as I see it, it is best that I remain outside the Egyptian press [corps].

I am very eager to go back to the Egyptian reader. I am eager to go back to people who would agree and disagree with me, who would crucify me at night and bring me down from the cross in the morning. But I believe, out of sympathy with Egypt's conditions in the coming period, that it would be

best for me to stay outside the Egyptian press. Regarding the problem of journalists abroad, I am hoping that they will come back, now that President Mubarak has turned a new leaf and has issued them a sincere invitation. I will give you another example. I have not seen Lt Gen al-Shadhli since he walked out of our embassy in London. I did not see him and I avoided meeting with him. It was my opinion that if he had done anything he wanted and then come to Egypt and presented himself to a military tribunal, [he would have been better off]. Our cause in this society begins and ends here. Anyone who wants to talk and anyone who has an opinion [on anything] should come and say it here. He should take whatever risk he has to take to do that.

But if petrodollars can easily buy this person and that person and if one person stays here and another stays there, and they open stores, that would be unacceptable. Furthermore, everyone has to know that no one can wield influence from abroad.

As far as I am concerned, the question is different. I am here, but very simply I prefer at this stage to tell everyone that I am not coming back to anything whatsoever. I will continue to write for THE TIMES if that newspaper will let me.

[Question] We want to go back once again to the book on the Iranian Revolution.

I did not read the book, but I did read the five articles that you published in THE TIMES. These articles were the subject of a discussion with some Iranians who said you were biased for the Iranian regime.

[Answer] Every writer in the world assumes a posture. No writer in the world is neutral. I confess that in its early days I was dazzled by the Iranian Revolution, and I tried to interpret it and to explain it to the world. But if you were to go back to the last three chapters, you would find that I anticipated what happened. Unfortunately, my expectations about internal and foreign disputes, about the clergymen, about the politicians, about the role that the army would play, about terrorism and counter-terrorism proved to be true.

We must also know that the media and the dimension added by television coverage provided a major shift in news and in the influence television has on the political decision making process. That has become dangerous.

The function of the investigative reporter shifted to the producer, and the producer wants a dramatic shot that can tell the whole story in one shot. He is the one who sets in motion everything we see. He is the one who brought the American flag and gave it to the young people to burn. The shot was transmitted to the United States in the afternoon; U.S. public opinion reacted to a staged scene; and Carter reacted to the public opinion that was influenced by a staged scene. The U.S. decision was affected, and that affected Iran, and the cycle went on.



Regardless of the fact that one is standing face to face with a revolution, the influence of television is such that it captures the scene and the view and affects the political decision. Power is [thus] shifted from the editor-in-chief to the television producer.

[Question] Without trying to broaden or sharpen the hostility that exists between you and some Egyptian journalists, don't you believe that you tried to become the singular journalist in Egypt?

[Answer] I am saying as of now that I am not seeking any position in the Egyptian press despite the fact that I am very much interested in going back to my natural reader. I have been writing for publications outside Egypt for 8 years now because I am not prepared to become involved in battles that in my opinion are contrived. Also in the next stage Egypt cannot withstand such battles that advance or delay nothing.

If I have enemies in the Egyptian press--and this would truly surprise me--I am leaving the scene altogether for everyone, but I would like to say this:

I have tried hard to help the Egyptian press, and I did try hard to stand alongside those who work in it.

When I took over AL-AHRAM, I tried to create a modern press, and I am saying quite simply that was the effort I made. If you think that effort was less than what it should have been, I would ask you to be impartial. Regarding the question of monopolizing the press during the days of President 'Abd-al-Nasir, I would say that the relationship between the press and government is one of dialogue and struggle. At the same time, it is a relationship of mutual dependence. There is a struggle between the two: you want many things from [the government], and it wants many things from you. The government wants to get more services from you and give you less news, but you want the opposite. The relationship is interrelated and complex, but its measure in the final analysis is this: to what extent can what you can do politically ultimately become news [gathering] activity? To what extent does political activity serve the press? To what extent is it helping you preserve your independence and your freedom?

[Question] What would you say to young journalists?

[Answer] Makram came to AL-AHRAM in an experiment when in 1958 we took in a large group of young people. They were the ones who carried AL-AHRAM on their shoulders. But I am very pleased that he is repeating the experiment in AL-MUSAWWAR with this large group of young people. Makram will remember that I always used to say that what I feared the most in the Egyptian press was that day when the censor would move from his place on the other side of the table in front of me and come inside me. As long as the censor is in front of me, I know who he is, and I am a party in the dialogue with him. Fear of the censor must not be internalized.

[Question] Do you have doubts about the Israelis' withdrawal in April?

[Answer] I cannot tell because I have been out of the picture for 90 days. Before that I used to meet people and talk with them, but in the past period I read no newspapers, and I met no one. [However], I am still saying that Israel is incapable of peace, and I am still saying that Egypt's security lies in the land bridge between Egypt and Asia.

[Question] What if this bridge were linked to peace?

[Answer] I have no personal opposition to the subject as long as Egypt's peace and security [are ensured]. I am prepared to admit error if I see evidence that I made a mistake. I am always asking myself that question: Is Israel prepared to fade away in the area? Israel is in a historical crisis.

[Question] How did Israel get to be in that crisis? Is it not the peace situation that brought on this crisis?

[Answer] The historical crisis was established by the October war, and the October war undoubtedly established the possibility that the so-called cultural gap could be brought to an end and that Egypt was capable of fighting a war. I was the one who described the October war as a strategic victory, and this meant that the Arabs were capable of shouldering responsibility.

[Question] Before the October war you said that you wanted a limited war that would have unlimited political consequences. Does this mean that you would accept negotiations and dialogue?

[Answer] Without going into details, let me remind you that there are limited wars that can have unlimited political consequences. It is not necessary for these wars to end in negotiations. The Suez war is an example of such a war. It was a war that I consider to be the most politically successful war in our history.

[Question] Why then did you advise President al-Sadat to open the Suez Canal?

[Answer] Because the Suez Canal was under threat of losing its value, and the world was going to stop using it if it had stayed closed for a long time. Now the whole world is taking part in clearing the canal. The age of supertankers had begun. Furthermore, opening the Suez Canal with the failure of the first attempt in the second stage of the disengagement talks was an ideal situation that assured all parties that the Suez Canal was being opened according to Egyptian wishes and not as a result of a deal. I am not against peace, but if one does not have the peace one wants, the necessary alternative to that, therefore, is not immediate war. However, it seems to me that we were enhancing our capabilities with every confrontation, while they were losing. We benefited from every confrontation we've been involved in. Let us consider our position in the October war when the historical moment was ideal. Israel was isolated; the United States was concerned with the problem; the Soviet Union was on our side;

the Arab world was on our side; and the oil weapon and world public opinion were on our side. We [scored] a military victory, and the fact that we had embarked on a war signaled that we were capable and that we could fight. We had formed a tremendous alliance, and we should have applied pressure with that alliance.

I think we could have created a balanced policy. Let us consider the alliance that created the October victory. The relationship with the two superpowers must be balanced. The area's geography is an important matter, and one must have a policy with the two superpowers. This policy has to be balanced. By balancing that policy, it is inevitable that Egypt would realize its greatest interests with both.

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OPPOSITION LEADER URGES ARAB STATES TO ENDORSE REGIME'S NEW POLICIES

Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 23 Dec 81 p 19

[Interview with Dr Hilmi Murad by special correspondent for AL-SIYASAH: "I Urge Arab Countries To Seize the Opportunity of Mubarak's Accession to Power in Egypt"; date and place not specified]

/Text/ Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, a major figure in Egyptian politics, has worked as a professor of economics in Egyptian universities, a vice president of Cairo University, a director of 'Ayn Shams University, and a former minister of education, in the period of President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir's regime (1968). He was elected president of the Federation of Arab Economists then director of the United Nations' Center for Public Finance and Administration in Beirut in 1972-75, then resigned to take part in political and party life in Egypt.. He nominated himself to be People's Assembly member for the Heliopolis district and remained an independent deputy in Egyptian parliament until the Wafd Party was established. He joined it and became its official spokesman until the Wafd dissolved itself in 1978. After that he did not enter the parliamentary elections, preferring to stay outside, free and independent, until last year, when he joined the Labor Party and became an assistant to its chairman, Ibrahim Shukri.

He is a man of organized thought, expresses himself precisely, and sometimes takes back specific words or expressions, being concerned, as a man of the law, with everything he says.

/Question/ At the beginning, what do you have to say, now that you have been released?

/Answer/ The so-called political accountability that was directed against me and against people who were politically detained and have been released was not serious enough to be a criminal indictment and did not involve anything that was worth being put in jail for. Jail is a place that is reserved for just two groups, and no others, in applying the law--people who have been provisionally arrested on criminal cases by order of the office of the public prosecutor, and people who have been judicially sentenced for crimes stipulated in the law.

Dr Hilmi Murad went on,

"Nothing is more indicative of the fact that the law was violated in this regard than the point that in the event the political charges attributed to us are proved,



and we are brought before the court of values, this court does not have the jurisdiction to sentence us to prison, but rather can only impose what are called measures, such as political isolation, prohibition of travel, proscriptions on pursuit of vocations that influence public opinion, refusal to permit entry into a specific country or leave it, and so forth.

"As to why we were released, that is because the release was just, the correction of an unjust situation."

/Question/ What guarantees are there that your arrest will not be repeated?

/Answer/ There are no guarantees in political affairs, except for "the conscience of the ruler and the power of public opinion." If these two elements do not exist, then the laws and constitutions become a dead letter. However, that does not mean that it is not possible to speak frankly and demand that the exceptional laws be abrogated and that all guarantees that will make it difficult for anyone who wants to deviate from the main path of the law and democratic principles to achieve his aims.

/Question/ Following the assassination, it was announced that the emergency law would be restored. What is your position on the fact that it is in effect in these circumstances?

/Answer/ The emergency law is supposed to be a law that goes into effect at times when the country is exposed to domestic or foreign danger, upon acquisition of approval of parliament, for a limited period. However, I am talking in particular about laws that are applied permanently and that contain exceptional measures that are restrictive of freedoms and conflict with democracy, human rights, some provisions of the constitution and its spirit. However, there must not be restrictions /sic/ on law, so that it will not be abused, and it is not proper to resort to declaring a state of emergency except in cases of utmost need. Indeed, I consider that we do not need the declaration of a state of emergency, since we waged the 1973 war without using one. In addition, there are provisions in ordinary laws that will bring about the desired discipline and accountability.

Let me repeat: we do not need the existence of what is called a state of emergency, because the ordinary laws contain all the powers the government requires.

/Question/ What is the political form of the new era, in your opinion?

/Answer/ The political picture in Egypt now is one where a congruence of opinions exists on national and basic issues between the government and the non-governmental political parties.

/Question/ President Mubarak declared that he would remain chief of the National Party, and would be fair with respect to the /other/ parties. What is your comment?

/Question/ Normally a democratic government takes one of two directions. Either the head of the party that wins the majority relinquishes the burdens of his party

position when he is elected president, or you will find no embarrassment in that (that is, combining the two positions), provided that care be taken from the practical standpoint to have all political parties, including the ruling party, enjoy the same rights and privileges. In the past, that was not observed, since the nationwide papers, radio and television, which are national facilities were available only to the ruling party. Indeed the other parties were not spared condemnation just because they expressed different opinions and they did not participate in adopting important, seminal decisions.

/Question/ Were you requested to testify before the military court formed to try the people accused of the assassination of the late leader al-Sadat?

/Answer/ I was requested to testify in the case in accordance with a request from a lawyer, Mr 'Abd-al-Halim Ramadan, an attorney for one of the accused. The court did not answer his request on grounds that I did not have information on the circumstances of the case. The lawyer wrote me a letter requesting me to answer in writing to the questions he intended to present to me, which concerned the reasons why I was detained, the quality of treatment in prison, and the extent to which that influenced the health of the people detained. It seems that he wanted to make use of this reply one way or another in his presentation of the case. I learned that he would bring up matters concerning the right to a legal defense in the Penal Code, which is not restricted to the accused person's right to defend himself or his property but extends to the defense of others, and, in the first place, of his nation.

Hilmi Murad added, "However, if we are summoned to testify, I consider that it is not permissible in law for me to refrain from testifying, even if that is requested in written form, as long as that is within the limits of my information and the facts that I know."

/Question/ However, if the accused asked you to defend them, how would you respond?

/Answer/ Any lawyer who is asked to defend any accused person, may not in accordance with the request, in accordance with professional tradition, refuse to do so, because it is a profession of "saving" all persons who are subject to punishment by law.

/Question/ What do you say about terror and violence?

/Answer/ There were some provocations and acts that should be considered a form of instigation to recourse to violence, especially since in the recent period all outlets for expressing different opinions which would be uttered by grumblers or discontents were closed. In my articles in the pages of the newspaper AL-SHA'B I warned that the policy recently followed of fighting different opinions and trying to silence every opposition voice would have the effect of causing some people to resort to secret activity, to adopt unlawful means for expressing views, and to use violence, which would harm the stability that had to be preserved in the country.

/Question/ What must President Husni Mubarak do, in your opinion, in light of the legacy and the challenges he has inherited?

/Answer/ President Mubarak made a good beginning in extending a hand to all opposition figures and declaring what he proposed to have his regime commit itself to, in the two statements that he made before the People's and Consultative Assemblies on the occasion of his taking the constitutional oath, then on the occasion of the inauguration of the new parliamentary term. In our opinion, as parties and opposition, the contents of these two statements are to be considered a successful beginning, since the president touched upon the points the people were suffering from and criticisms that had been raised in the previous period. We thus predicted good things and considered that taking part and having the government of the new era and the opposition exchange views would have the effect of producing sound solutions on all matters presented for discussion and dialogue.

Hilmi Murad asserted, "President Mubarak is responsible for providing the where-withal, the atmosphere and the personnel to help him carry out the conclusions that peoples' opinions reach as a result of this dialogue. What concerns us is that a sound policy be carried out with successful plans, without corruption or deviation, and this is what we are carrying the dialogue on about; as for the execution, that is up to President Mubarak. He must also provide the suitable elements for that, and that is his personal responsibility. We also demand that the government's conditions assume the optimum form that will realize the desired goals, and I also ask in the first place that the party I belong to re-evaluate its conditions in the light of the new era, in order to eliminate the elements we lacked to help strengthen the party's influence and success in its aims, to increase its close bonds with the people."

/Question/ What in your opinion, in the Arab context, is the road Egypt must follow in order to return to Arab ranks?

/Answer/ In our meeting with President Mubarak on the occasion of our release we detected sound pro-Arab sentiments, since he appreciates the importance of the unity of Arab ranks and is most solicitous not to create any splits in these ranks. Therefore he mentioned to us that he would initiate no conduct that would entail an infringement on any Arab country, whatever steps it took--even if it attacked him personally.

/Question/ If we were to try to determine the points of Arab congruence, what comments would you make?

/Answer/ I consider, after the aggressive media campaigns cease, that specific steps require that contacts be made in the Arab context, if only limited ones at the beginning, such as preparations for consummating a comprehensive form of solidarity. With the broad gap that has opened in the past, repairing the rift will require a kind of gradual process and that will not be difficult if intentions are sincere and people's determination is well-founded.

I believe that no personal enmity exists between President Mubarak and any Arab king or president, and that will facilitate joint meetings and the reduction of disputes.

/Question/ You held a position of opposition to the Camp David agreements. What is your opinion on Prince Fahd's plan as an alternative to the peace treaty and the agreement, and as a basis for a comprehensive solution?

/Answer/ After the negotiations on autonomy for the Palestinians in the context of the Camp David agreement had reached a dead end, as a result of Israel's stubbornness and adoption of decisions impeding them, and the time stipulated by the treaty for negotiation on it had passed, it became possible, indeed obligatory, that other plans be set forth in order to arrive at a resolution of the Palestinian issue, on grounds that it is the essence for attaining a permanent comprehensive peace in the area.

The Saudi plan, or others, are to be considered an opportunity to start a new dialogue; the agreement stipulates that negotiations must be completed within a year of the exchange of documents ratifying the agreement, and more than 2 years have passed. The important thing, for the good of Egypt and the whole Arab area, is to find a solution that will lead to a permanent, comprehensive peace, whether it is said that that is in execution of the stipulations in the Camp David agreements or elsewhere. The moral lies in the goal and the results, not in adherence to specific formalisms that have been proved not to lead to solutions in the agreed-on period.

From my popular position, I urge officials in the fraternal Arab countries to seize the opportunity of President Mubarak's assumption of the burdens of his new position to turn over a new page with him in which they can all cooperate in matters which will achieve the Arab nation's hopes in light of the benefit that befell matters when he took over the position of the presidency.

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# WAR, RELIGIOUS-CULTURAL STATUS OF ARMENIANS DISCUSSED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 5 Jan 82 pp 6, 7

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the Christian New Year and the birth of Christ we had a conversation with Archbishop Artak Manukian, leader of Armenians in Iran, on various subjects.

## Celebration Funds To Go to the Front

Explaining why the Armenians of Iran were not having Christmas celebrations Archbishop Artak Manukian said:

Because of the imposed war each day groups of beloved and self-sacrificing youth of our nation are martyred in the war against blasphemy. We cannot but be a part of this. It was therefore decided to forego celebrations and special events. We would like to say there has been no urging or pressure imposed in this regard. We held a meeting of the diocese council some time ago and unanimously decided that no celebrations would be held this year.

We also rejected various interpretations of our action and gave a telling answer to rumormongers because we are Iranians and will fight alongside our Muslim and other minority brothers against anyone intending to violate our country's borders. It was decided at the meeting of the council of the diocese that funds that were to be used for large celebrations will be allocated to war victims and the fighting front while Armenian families could hold small family festivities. In order to help the war front, we have, in addition to opening a bank deposit account, also set up committees to help collect cash and relief supplies.

The leader of the Armenians of Iran gave a brief history of Armenian churches:

According to historic evidence, two apostles of Christ went to Maku to preach the gospel and one of them was martyred in that city. We have a church there called the "Qareh Church" which is also well known as the Thaddeaus church. This church is considered as one of the oldest in the world. Until 100 years ago, Armenian church leaders resided there and at one time patriarchs had their seat there. Among other ancient churches are those of Saint Sarkis in Khoy and Saint Stepanos in Sham Valley near the Jolfa border of Azarbaijan by the Aras River. [The latter] church is said to be more than 1,000 years old. When Shah Abbas had Armenian families move to Iran, he settled them in Esfahan and

Bakhtiari. Many churches were built in these areas. At present there are 13 churches in Esfahan. The first manual printing press was established by these churches. This goes back 340 years. When Tehran became the capital during the reign of Fath' Ali Shah-e Qajar, a number of Armenians left Esfahan to reside in Tehran. After 1966 the number of the Armenians grew in Tehran as they arrived from other parts of Iran. Incidentally, among various churches in Tehran, the oldest is the Armenian Church which is located at Shah Abdolazim.

#### How Many Branches of Armenians or Christians Are There?

The archbishop was asked how many branches and denominations make up the Armenians or Christians of Iran? He answered: The Armenian Church in Iran is known as the Gregorian Church. However, I feel it is not right to call a church by one name since the church belongs to the Armenians, that is all its members must be Armenian. In reality the Armenian Church is a national one for the people. In other words, the bishop, the head of the church, as well as, the lay members and the clergy who administer churches are chosen by the people. About 160 years ago a group of Armenians converted to Catholicism. Also, about 130 years ago, with the arrival of Protestant missionaries in the Middle East, some Armenians became Protestants.

Some Armenians who left us joined the Vatican Catholic Church. Of course most of the 5-6 million Armenians in the world belong to the [Mother] Church.

The leader of Iran's Christians spoke of the position of the Armenians in Iran's Islamic Revolution:

In the days prior to the grand victory of Islamic Revolution of Iran, the diocese issued a statement saying we stand at the side of our brothers and fellow citizens. As a result of the victory of the revolution and the liberation of the press and radio-television, Armenians became politically aware, abandoned their indifference and became interested in their future. This caused exultation among the people and provided them with an additional benefit. One of the fruits of the Islamic Revolution was the opportunity given to us freely to stage marches in connection with the killings of more than 2 million Armenians at the hands of the Ottoman (Turkish) government. We issued proclamations and were able as an oppressed people to have our voice heard by peoples of the world, to stand up for our demands, to see justice done and to have this crime uprooted. Speaking in general terms, I would say we are equally effected by any difficulty or benefit this nation has, a nation whose revolution could be exported to other parts of the world. This is because we consider ourselves alongside and in step with the revolution.

The archbishop spoke of relations between the Armenian Church in Iran and the Catholic Church:

The Armenian Church is not connected with any other church from the administrative and management point of view and it functions independently. Not only is there any connection between us and the Catholic Church but from the religious and national viewpoint we have our differences. Our relations are limited to celebrations and ceremonies which are mere formalities for appearances.

## Relations With the Pope and Missionaries

Speaking of relations with the Pope and missionaries the leader of Christians in Iran said:

There is no connection between us, except on rare occasions when there is a meeting and an invitation is issued to us. Otherwise we do not have contact or connection.

Perhaps a few words are in order about the administration of Church affairs?

Usually in each church an administrative council is established under the direction of the bishop to conduct affairs concerning schools, marriage, divorce, and other matters affecting the Armenian community. This is a general procedure followed throughout the world. For each Armenian community of 3,000, one representative is elected, the requirement being that one out of each 7 must be a cleric [sic]. From 45 representatives an 11-member council which functions under the chairmanship of the bishop, a deputy chairman, a secretary and a treasurer is chosen. The ownership of all schools is in the name of the administrative council, and the schools are run by a 9-member trustee board whose members serve without any emolument.

Referring to the imposed war Archbishop Artak Manukian said: Armenians of Iran always have been and always will stand by the revolution alongside our fellow countrymen. The diocese has endeavored to keep in step with the revolution. The Armenian community, which in every way is an oppressed group, supports the policy of "Neither East nor West." For some 400 years the Armenians of Iran have lived alongside their Iranian brothers and consider themselves Iranians and for this reason have fought since ancient times for the independence and freedom of our country. The tenets of Islam give consideration to religious minorities. For this reason we have had no difficulties up to now. Of course, even if a problem should arise the responsible authorities would certainly act to resolve it.

This happened in the case of schools and was quickly resolved. Needless to say, problems exist in every society, specially in one where a revolution has occurred, but in such cases one must have patience and tolerance to allow the country's responsible authorities the chance to investigate problems and inadequacies.

I would like to speak about the war which is a destructive act. The question is who started it and who is the main guilty party? As we know Iran has taken a defensive position in the imposed war in order to protect its territorial integrity and the Armenian community which considers itself Iranian has and is participating in the fighting with our countrymen. We have given martyrs in this cause and on 7 January we will conduct memorial services for them at the Armenian Cemetery. In conclusion it would be appropriate to repeat a prayer which is said on the occasion of the birth of Christ and pray that the war may come to an end, that the attacks of the enemy may cease and that love, sincerity and justice may develop among people....

## Our Biggest Joy Would Be War's End

Although it is the prayerful expectancy of every Christian to express joy on the birth of Christ, Armenians in Iran this year are observing the event in silent prayer in order to be in step with their countrymen in this period of war and difficulty.

For this reason Armenians announced and published their decision in newspapers recently that since our brave and faithful soldiers are fighting the soldiers of infamy and of the Ba'athist lackeys, they would not hold any celebrations this year but would donate the earmarked funds to the war effort.

The Armenians are heart and soul with us in this effort and the words of one of them reflect the feelings of all of them. Right now many young Armenians are at the battlefield or behind the lines shoulder-to-shoulder fighting the soldiers of infamy, and Armenian families have suffered the loss of their dear ones.

A description of the outlook and attitudes of this group of our dear countrymen toward the revolution, the imposed war and current problems can familiarize other citizens with our culture, traditions, brief history, as well as, our way of life and ideas.

## Beginning of Christianity in Iran

According to historical documents and evidence, Christianity was brought to Iran from Syria at the beginning of the Sasanid dynasty. At that time the residents of Western regions of Iran were mostly Aramaean, who were one of the Semitic tribes, who included the majority of Christians in Iran. They lived in Khuzestan and their religious center was also located there. Christians of Iran at first followed the orthodox faith but later accepted the teachings of Nestorius and came to be known as Nestorians.

Christianity consists of three main branches--Catholic, Protestant, Catholic [Orthodox]--with each branch having several offshoots but in reality they do not differ from the point of view of beliefs. At present the majority of these offshoots follow the evangelical Protestant denominations, with some 70 churches belonging to them.

There are three big holidays in Christianity. Christians throughout the world celebrate each one with splendid ceremonies: Christmas (or the birth of Christ) on 25 December, Easter which occurs in March or April, and Pentecost which is 40 days after Easter. These three holidays, which are accepted by all Christians, are celebrated according to special rules and customs in churches.

However, the most important holiday among these is that of the birth of Christ. It is considered the beginning of the history of Christianity throughout the world. It is this holiday which Iran's Armenians who are Gregorians celebrate differently from the other Christians. The Gregorians unlike other followers of Christianity do not participate in the celebration of Christmas [on 25 December]. Six January is celebrated by the Gregorians as the day when Christ was born.



Archbishop Artak Manukian, the dignified archbishop of the Tehran Armenians, in a detailed and valuable book which he has written about holidays in the Armenian Church, has researched interesting points. He writes:

"...The exact birth date of Jesus Christ is not clear and there are different opinions about it. According to certain documents of second century A.D., 6 January was considered the day that Christ was born. Until the 4th century this was the situation. However, at that time, by order of the Roman Catholic Church, 25 December became the birthday and 6 January the Epiphany.

After mentioning other testimony and documents, the archbishop notes that whether the birth of Christ is celebrated on 25 December or 6 January, the matter only concerns differing calendars and is in no way a dispute of faith and religion between churches.

#### Armenian History and Culture

Armenians consider their history and culture specially important. Every study made has shown that through the centuries ties of history and culture have strengthened the unity of Armenians and prevented their assimilation even though they have lived as "minorities" among majorities of differing creed, history, culture and custom and helped them retain their national independence.

Armenian history and civilization has seen the passage of 3,000 years and at times during past centuries has demonstrated phases of advancement which have produced men of destiny. One of these personalities was Mesrop Mashtotz to whom Armenian civilization, culture, nationality, independent alphabet and writing as well as preserved history and tradition owe a large debt of gratitude.

According to historic evidence, Christianity had made headway in Armenia from the very 1st century. However, because of bigotry, oppression and torture to which Christians were subjected, the new faith was followed in secret until 301 A.D. when the country recognized Christianity as its official religion. Armenia thus became the first nation to accept Christianity.

At such a turning point of its history, Armenia more than ever felt the need for an independent culture appropriate to the times. Although Armenia had used cuneiform, pictorial signs as well as alphabets of others from 700 B.C., at this time of its emergence as a country with independent religion, nationality, history and civilization, it could no longer copy from others but needed to be innovative and self-sufficient. This concept prevailed from the time Christianity became the official religion until the next century. With the passage of time the need became stronger for a new and popular culture that would safeguard the existence and independence of the Armenian Church and the Armenian nation against war, invasion and danger. This could not be possible without an independent alphabet and writing system. Finally in 405 A.D. Mesrob Mashtotz, one of the most outstanding personalities of Armenia, created a 36-letter alphabet that turned out to be the most complete in the world.

Mesrob Mashtotz, who was born in Armenia in 362 A.D., was fully proficient in Greek, Assyrian and Pahlavi Persian and was also well versed in Greek literature.

As a secretary at the Armenian royal court and as a well-known military commander and a man of both the pen and the sword he was fully aware of the military and cultural strength needed by a nation to survive. He felt that an Armenian alphabet that could produce national culture and literature would be stronger and more effective than any weapon and so he dedicated his life to this objective. He gave up his position at the royal court and the military positions and worldly attractions and joined the religious order. He then devoted himself to long trips and deep studies and was able to create the Armenian alphabet through scientific knowledge and research.

### The Armenian Alphabet

According to those knowledgeable, beauty and form are reflected in the Armenian script which has been made up of curved, closed and semiclosed as well as upward, downward and sideways shapes to create a general visual balance. The alphabet was written in four rows of 9 letters each, with each letter corresponding to a numeral, a system used for mathematical calculation until the 13th century. It was on the basis of this system that the multiplication table was developed. The alphabetical system was also etched for calculation purposes on stone sun dials built on the face of outer church walls.

In addition to developing the Armenian alphabet and script, Mesrob Mashtots also created the Armenian grammar on a scientific system. Thus, Armenia has been one of the first nations to have such a grammar system. That system was in use without any change for 1,500 years and was taught in all Armenian schools of other localities also. It was only 60 years ago when changes were made. According to those knowledgeable, the changes were not scientifically based and for this reason Armenians of Iran did not accept the changes which came to be called "the new grammar" and continued to abide faithfully to the grammar developed by Mesrob Mashtots.

The first basic and historic act of Mesrob Mashtots was to establish different types of schools in all areas of Armenia to enable the younger generation to learn their independent mother tongue and script. He also laid the foundation of Armenian classical literature and was an innovator of the art of translation when with the help of the thinkers of his time he was able to translate ancient writings on theology, literature, history and science into Armenian. At the same time, with the cooperation of his colleague Sahak Parthev, he translated the Holy Bible, a work which at a 5th century international religious congress was recognized as the best of its kind from original and given the title of the "Queen of Translations."

It is perhaps because of such outstanding services that have for centuries guaranteed the nation's endurance and existence and safeguarded its national identity, as well as because of the exceptional genius of Mesrob Mashtots, that Armenians have elevated him to sainthood and conferred on him the title of "Surp."

### Religious Songs and Hymns

In addition to all of this, Mesrob Mashtots in the same period developed different alphabets for Armenia's neighboring countries of Georgia and Aqvan [the

latter situated between then Greater Armenia and the Caspian Sea and later dismembered by various invasions, with a part of it now known as Daghestan]. He also established the first schools in these countries and laid the foundation for education and the spread of knowledge and culture.

With the help of Sahak Parthev he also wrote five books on religious rites and ceremonies in the Armenian Church. One of them is known as "Sharakanotz" or "religious hymns."

Mesrob Mashtotz and Sahak Parthev also laid the foundation of religious music. He [sic] wrote some 500 triplets and composed the music for all of them. These odes are mainly reflective of the desire to seek cleansing of the soul through charitable acts and forgiveness for sins.

One of the odes supplicates God in these words: Almighty, Thou who causes the spring to bubble from the heart of the mountain, I ask Thee to bring forth the tears of penance from my heart because I will live in remorse until the day I face Your judgment. Another ode says: O Providence, when the trumpets of the angels summon us on Judgment Day do not deny us Your mercy and favor.

These songs and hymns which were the first classical religious songs of the 5th century later played a major role in the development of Armenian religious music. Although these hymns are based on religion, their melody and expression shake the hearts of believers and reflect mankind's endeavor to escape from past sins and elevate the soul.

Mesrob Mashtotz and Sahak Parthev also found a way to preserve these melodies for posterity by developing a system of musical writing known as "khaz" which was improved upon in later periods. Although an Italian developed the Western type of music notes similar to those in use to the present day, the "khaz" method was used in churches until the 19th century.

#### The ALIK Newspaper

In later centuries Armenians never neglected their love and deep devotion toward culture and literature. It was because of this perhaps that Armenians set up the first printing press of the Middle East in the Jolfa sector of Esfahan. In those days the Christian religious leaders personally prepared the plates, set type and readied ink and paper for what was to be printed. In later years many books were printed there. The limited number of those in existence are priceless and some editions can be found in the British Museum.

It is because of such a background that the Armenians of Iran have been accorded respect and affection by the people of the country and have lived as brothers and equals in harmony and security. They have fully safeguarded their national and cultural identity, promoted their mother tongue, literature, history and religion in their own schools, freely followed their traditions and customs, printed their own books and published their own newspapers.

At present Armenians of Iran publish their own language newspaper ALIK which has been in existence for more than 50 years. It is in reality the voice of the

Armenians of Iran and holds a high and valued place among them because in addition to reporting events, issues and problems of interest to Armenians, the newspaper also serves as a guide for Armenians, as well as a communication bridge not only for those in Iran but with those living in other parts of the world. ALIK has well carried out its responsibility as the guardian and protector of the Armenian script, language, literature as well as national independence and has been able at sensitive periods of history to serve the Armenian people as an important and reliable source of information, uniting them as one toward the attainment of their goals.

During the early days of the revolution, informative articles, news and pictures in the ALIK newspaper, played an important role in keeping the Armenians informed. Throughout the revolution, the newspaper has worked toward organizing and mobilizing in order to serve the revolution. Once more, with the imposed war, the ALIK newspaper has shown its arousing role by publishing forceful articles. In every issue, with news and reliable pictures, evermore, it is trying to bring Armenians shoulder to shoulder with their Muslim brothers in fulfilling the goals of the revolution and in creating unity.

In addition to various activities, the Armenians of Iran are quite involved in sports. Numerous Armenian clubs and societies have been in existence for many years, with most of their activities revolving around cultural and charitable affairs. At present there are many such charitable organizations operating in Tehran. The Ararat and Sipan Clubs are best known. Herewith some details about them:

#### Ararat Club

The Ararat Sports and Scouting Club was formed some 38 years ago as a result of the efforts of a group of young Armenians. From its start the club has applied itself to the training and development of Armenian youth and teenagers in sport-ing, scouting and cultural activities. At present the club, with a membership of 2,000, is involved in these as well as literary and art activities.

The club is active in seven different sports, taking part not only in competitions of the National Physical Culture Organization but also in competitions between various Armenians Clubs. Ararat Club has specially shone on the national level in soccer, volleyball and basketball. Members of the club have been and are the mainstay of the organization's activities and expansion and spare no effort for the club.

The cultural activities of Ararat Club revolve around literature, music and theater. Such activities are based on study and research into various branches of culture which have nurtured and sustained the life of this nation through the passage of history. The club conducts poetry and literature sessions, puts on plays based on Armenian life and the oppressions suffered and being suffered by this people in their revolutionary and epical history.

Another cultural activity of Ararat Club is its choral groups whose programs acquaint the youth of the folk and revolutionary music which have their roots in the several-thousand-year history of this people.



The scouting activities of Ararat Club are also a part of its Armenian youth training programs that seek to create a sense of cooperation, friendship and harmony in the younger generation from early age on.

#### Sipan Club

Although this club has been in existence for a relatively short number of years, yet it has been able to establish its name by participating in most sporting activities. Sipan Club also has cultural activities, a library, a choral group and a theatrical group.

Besides these two clubs mentioned above, other similar organizations include: Women's Benevolent Society of Tehran, Church Women's Organization, the Society of Armenian University Graduates of Iran, the Armenian General Benevolent Society, the Nayiri Club, the Society of Armenian Doctors, Erebuni Club, Armenian Folk Theater and the Chahar Mahal Armenian Educational Society.

In past centuries the Armenians of Iran have always participated in the joys and difficulties of their Muslim brothers and during the time of the revolution, both before and after it, have done and are doing their duty in helping their oppressed Muslim brothers to overthrow the tyrannical rule of the shah and to safeguard the fruits of the revolution.

The Armenian nation stood up against the flood of pseudo culture and supported the revolution alongside its Muslim brothers in order to eradicate it. In addition to direct Armenian participation in the movement, official Armenian organizations, the Church and the Armenian Diocese Council provided Armenians necessary direction.

It was during that conflict that the Armenian Diocese Council called on its people to forego 1978 New Year celebrations as a mark of respect for those who had lost their lives at the hand of government troops in the streets and elsewhere in the country.

At a time when press protests led to strangulation, censorship and military presence at newspapers with large circulation, the Armenian language newspaper ALIK ignored its financial difficulties caused by walkouts and joined the protest strikes of other publications.

Finally 15 months ago, when a part of our beloved country was trampled under the boots of foreign troops, the Armenians of the country joined their Muslim brothers at the front to guard our borders.

Some of them returned after completing their tour of duty, others were wounded and transferred behind the lines and yet others gave their lives in protecting the glorious revolution, thus creating a garden of tulips by the shining blood they shed on the hot sands of Khuzestan. It is appropriate to remember with respect some of the martyred: Zorik Muradian, Gilbert Apkarian, Paylak Odian, Razmik Lavitian, Razmik Hunanian, Sarmeh Yankian and other Armenian martyres. May their road be blessed.

SYRIA'S MILITARY AID TO IRAN SCORED

JN251100 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0900 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Excerpt] Baghdad, 25 Jan (INA)--The newspaper, AL-THAWRAH has violently attacked the Syrian regime for rendering military assistance to Iran, adding that the Syrian regime is known for its ceaseless efforts to adopt flagrant and treasonous stands against the Arab nation and the pan-Arab march of struggle.

In today's editorial, AL-THAWRAH says that Iranian Majlis speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani, a close friend of the Syrian regime, wrecked the last of this regime's [words indistinct] 2 days ago, he overtly and [word indistinct] ambiguity admitted the influx of Syrian military assistance to the racist Persian enemy. The paper adds that Rafsanjani's admission reveals Syria's treasonous and hostile attitude toward Iraq's just war, which is being waged against the Persian designs on Iraq and on the Arab Gulf as well as the Arab homeland.

AL-THAWRAH explains that the Syrian regime hastened to consolidate its devilish alliance with the Khomeyni clique--an alliance that existed before the war--to the extent of rendering military assistance, equipment, weapons, manpower and other facilities particularly after Iraq's decisive reply to the Persian aggression.

The paper questions the Syrian regime's claims of belonging to the Arab nation and of being desirous to safeguard Arab solidarity at a time when it is overtly siding with the Persian enemy against fraternal Iraq, which is fighting in defense of the Arab nation's rights and of Iraq's land and waters.

AL-THAWRAH says that the Syrian regime is plotting against the Arab nation through its support of the Persian regime's aggression against Iraq. Iraq, the paper adds, is capable of effectively contributing to liberating the Golan, which was sold out by this regime to the Zionists. Iraq is also capable of liberating Palestine about which the Syrian regime is making false claims, such as Palestine being at the top of its list of priorities. It says that the Syrian regime is raising false slogans about its desire to preserve Arab solidarity and unity. However, the paper adds, all these claims are being exposed by the Arab masses.

The paper asserts that the Syrian regime was pursuing a twisted course during the tours of Hafiz al-Asad and 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam in the Arab Gulf states, at a time when these states are openly being subject to Persian plots and acts of sabotage. It adds that al-Asad and Khaddam spoke arrogantly about Arab solidarity. They also launched balloons about their mediation to end the Iraqi-Iranian war, but later they denied it.

AL-THAWRAH asserts that the twisted course of this renegade regime, which is drowned in the mud of treason, is aimed at saving its Persian ally. It adds that the agent Syrian regime's shuttle tours can never convince anyone that is really a threat to the Zionist entity for these tours were learned from its U.S. masters.

CSO: 4404/243

DETAILED PROGRAM FOR POW FAMILIES PROPOSED

JN240828 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0755 GMT 24 Jan 82

[Text] Baghdad, 24 Jan (INA)--Iraq today announced new detailed proposals concerning the arrangements allowing families of Iranian POW's to visit their sons. Iraq has proposed that these visits begin as of the first of February.

In a statement to INA, a Foreign Ministry spokesman has stated that Iraq is ready to welcome families of Iranian POW's at a rate of 200 families a week on condition that Iraqi families of POW's be allowed the same privilege in accordance with the above formula.

The Iraqi spokesman proposed that these arrangements be organized by direct bilateral agreement through talks between Iraq and Iran that will be held in a direct manner or through the International Red Cross.

The Iraqi spokesman was replying to a statement made by Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati in which he said that his country is ready to send families of Iranian POW's to Iraq to visit their sons when Iraq would announce details of such visits.

Iraq proposes that Switzerland be the regrouping point for families of Iraqi and Iranian POW's before they leave for Iraq and Iran under the supervision of the Red Cross or that the regrouping point of families from the two sides be any country other than Switzerland if Iran rejects this place or if Switzerland does not accept to be the regrouping point.

The Iraqi spokesman said that the family means the wife, sons, fathers and brothers and that the meetings must take place in the capitals of the two countries in the presence of Red Cross representatives.

The visits will cover POW's who are registered as such by the International Red Cross until the date of [the] agreement reached between Iraq and Iran and all other POW's who are registered by the Red Cross in the future.

The Iraqi spokesman also expressed Iraq's readiness to arrange special visits that will allow families of Iranian POW's to visit the holy places in Iraq.

CSO: 4404/243



IRAQ

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO GRENADA--Georgetown, 24 Jan (INA)--Jihad Karam, Iraqi nonresident ambassador to Grenada, has presented his credentials to Grenada Governor General Paul Scoon. [JN241942 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1900 GMT 24 Jan 82 JN]

CSO: 4404/243

REPORT ON U.S. 'PUSHING' ARABS TOWARD USSR

GF151656 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 14 Jan 82 p 1

[Editorial: "The United States Is Pushing Arabs Toward the Soviet Union"]

[Text] "Vital Sphere" was originally a Nazi theory before it became a Zionist one. Hitler invaded Europe and started a world war under the pretense of Nazi Germany's vital sphere. This is exactly what Begin is doing in starting wars and in annexing Arab territories under the claim of Israel's vital strategic sphere. It is not impossible that the Zionist hallucination will eventually lead to a world war--exactly what happened with the explosion of the Nazi hallucination in the world.

Today's Zionist Israel is like yesterday's Nazi Germany. Israel believes in the racist superiority of "God's chosen people" just as Nazism used to worship and diefy the alleged superiority of the Aryan race. The common philosophy between Zionism and Nazism is the use of stupendous military power to expand and to annex the lands of others.

The current stupid and shortsighted U.S. policy--manifested in protecting a racist Nazi state such as Israel--will ultimately lead to a major confrontation in which the entire world will pay a price and in which everyone will lose. Continuous U.S. support for Israel to protect its expansionist ambitions--including the annexation of the Golan--is embarrassing for friends of the United States in the Arab world. In fact, friendship between any country and the United States has turned into an accusation in the Arab world.

The Arab world is perhaps divided and at loggerheads at present. Yet, it will not stay like this forever, perhaps "thanks to" the savagery and haste of Zionist ambitions or "thanks to" the blind U.S. policy in supporting and protecting Israel's ambitions in disregarding all Arab feelings, interests and stands.

The U.S. policy--which is called by some a non-policy--in the Middle East is leading to an extreme polarization throughout the world. This means that all of the Arab countries will find themselves forced to support Syria against Israel's annexation of the Golan and against all those who support Israel in its expansionist stand, especially the United States.

This polarization will drag the entire Arab nation--and without exception, including Iraq and Saudi Arabia--into supporting Syria--which is forced in this situation to link itself with the Soviets in a strategic cooperation agreement in order to balance Israel's agreement with the United States. This means that Washington will push all Arabs into directly and indirectly linking themselves, through Syria, with the Soviet Middle East policy.

It seems that we began to hear the repercussions of the U.S. stand on the issue of annexing the Golan in the security council. Perhaps we have begun to hear its echo in the Middle East region in the statement made by Saudi Information Minister Dr Muhammad 'Abd Yamani in Riyadh yesterday, in which he said that ideology is not a barrier for establishing relations between Saudi Arabia and communist countries or in the statement made by an eminent Kuwaiti figure to AL-QABAS yesterday in which he affirmed that what is currently taking place in the region is an undeclared war between the United States on one side and Syria (and implicitly the Soviet Union) on the other.

CSO: 4404/243

## 'AL-SIYASAH' REJECTS SYRIAN-SOVIET ALLIANCE

GF251927 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 12 Jan 82 p 1

[Editorial by editor in chief Ahmad al-Jarallah: "The Alliance Which May Turn the Arab World Into a New Poland"]

[Text] I do not know why people talk about the strategic alliance between Syria and the Soviet Union as a reaction to the strategic cooperation agreement between the United States and Israel. If it is to strengthen the Arabs, it is unjustifiable and fruitless. The Arab weakness is not due to the fact that the Arabs have no strong ally, but because they do not know how to deal with their allies and because they are not united.

By signing the friendship agreement with the Soviet Union, Syria has provoked moderate Arabs into having reservations, because the Soviet ideology is an unacceptable ideology to the Arab and Islamic mind. This ideology contradicts the strong Arab economy, which only require stability and equal cooperation among the people of the Arab nation. That is why if we wanted the Soviet Union to be an ally ready to make sacrifices for the Arab world, it would have to turn our countries into another Poland in terms of their collusion and importance to the East Bloc countries. Thus, there would be a direct occupation.

If Israel's position enables it to exploit its alliance with the United States to its own advantage, an Arabs alliance with the Soviets would be to the Soviets' advantage. There is much proof of this: The land is fertile, markets are in demand and so on and so forth.

We then have to ask: What should the Arabs do if they do not ally themselves with the Soviets? The answer is: There must be a unified Arab ideology. Instead of having a strategic alliance with the Soviets to counter Israel's alliance with the Americans, Syria has to create a coordinated strategic alliance with the other Arab countries in order to remove their reservations. It has to bridge the gap between the various regimes. It has to try to form an Arab consensus to enable the Arabs--through national Arab resources--to ally themselves with any international power for their sake and not for the sake of that power, be it the United States or the Soviet Union.

Without this, the fruit will always fall into Israel's hands, taking into consideration that the situation is favorable for the Arabs to move as one power to create an international Arab influence such as the Israeli influence, which is able to ally itself with any one to its own advantage without becoming another Poland.



PAPER ASSAILS IRAN'S VELAYATI'S REMARKS

GF261903 Kuwait AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 24 Jan 82 pp 1, 19

[Editorial: "Blows From All Sides"]

[Excerpt] We no longer know how the blows come or where they come from. The one who is insulted gets more insulted, and the one who bows his head gets more oppressed. This is what the Arab situation is like during these bad times.

While the U.S. and international campaign of humiliation continues, we hear Iranian Foreign Minister Dr Velayati impudently warning the Arabian Gulf countries not to conclude security treaties with each other. The Iranian minister, who was appointed during the revolution that destroyed the shah's regime, is definitely reminding us of that regime by using a language reminiscent of that regime and more insolent than the language it had used when he says that Iran is the largest country in the Gulf, meaning that Iran will dictate its policy to the Arab Gulf countries. In other words, the Gulf countries are not free to pursue their own interests but should pursue Iran's interests because it is a "superpower" too. As if we have not had enough of superpowers and super-pirates! What is strange is that Tehran--as we hear and read--continues to criticize the superpowers for seeking to dominate small countries. Thus, we do not know anymore what criteria the present regime in Tehran is using or how it views matters. Tehran accuses us of serving U.S. interests, when it is the regime in Tehran that is rendering the greatest service to U.S. ambitions and policies of aggression against the Arabs and Muslims through its war with Iraq and its general behavior and threats against the Arab Gulf countries.

Now that the Iranian regime, through its war with Iraq, has bled this important Arab country and diverted it from its main role in the Arab and Muslim confrontation against the Zionist cancer, it is taking another grave step aimed at frightening the Arab Gulf countries and pushing them to confront its open threat. Thus, Tehran is rendering one more service to the United States and Israel by diverting the attention of the oil-rich Arab countries from their strategic role in the Arab confrontation against the Zionist enemy.

We do not know how Tehran can claim to be participating in the confrontation policy against the United States and Israel. However, as we have said, we are living in bad times. There is not anyone left who has not dared to trespass

against us. As long as everyone can see how dead we are in the face of aggressors and the greedy, why should anyone hesitate from joining in this general procession and participating in this game of humiliation?

The Iranian threat should be placed in its appropriate framework and confronted seriously before we are taken by surprise. We as Arabs know that we are being attacked from all sides. Even those who claim to be Muslims are using Islam as a mask to conceal their pre-Islamic beliefs. Indeed, they want to divest Islam of its Arab character so as to continue their fierce and all-out attack against us.

The beginning of the road is better than its end, for to be silent now means to open doors for an attack from the East, which coincides with the direct and continuous attack against Arabs from the West. Before Iran is convinced that it is a superpower we must assure it and others that we are careful and that we have learned (have we learned?) this time not to forfeit our land but to die on it and preserve our dignity and rights.

However, if we do not, then we will demonstrate that we are against learning, that we do not learn from experience and that we do not deserve to live, but deserve similar threats, beating and submission. Maybe we should make the four sides understand this truth and ignore the threats of the Iranian minister and the proclamations of Washington's envoy to the United Nations, Jeanne K. Kirkpatrick, who said yesterday that any Arab who cooperates with the PLO puts his head in his hands. That is, the U.S. pirate has decided that we should cut all relations with the Palestinian action and that if we do not submit and bow we will be beheaded. This was made quite obvious, and in the old and new language of the cowboy.

CSO: 4404/243

IRANIAN THREAT TO GULF STATES REPORTED

GF301330 Kuwait AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 29 Jan 82 p 1

[Editorial: "The Arab Stand and Iranian Threats"]

[Text] With regard to the results of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] defense ministers conference that was held recently in Riyadh, we ask the following question: Did the conference discuss Iranian aggression against Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar?

If it did discuss this matter, we do not know how thoroughly it was discussed, particularly since it appears that Iranian aggression will stop at nothing. Iraq has been singlehandedly repulsing Iranian aggression and confronting and preventing Iran from achieving its goals and ambitions.

Iran has committed a series of aggressions. Kuwait has been the victim of much of this aggression--and also Bahrain, where an attempt to undermine its security and stability was uncovered.

Yesterday, it was Qatar's turn to be the target of threats and provocation. A suspect was called in for interrogation and then arrested. He committed suicide in prison. Members of the Iranian community in Qatar closed their shops, stopped working and went to the Iranian Embassy. Tehran called for sending a team to investigate the incident and find out whether the person has been killed or had committed suicide. However, Qatari authorities rejected the Iranian request and refused to allow any interference in its internal affairs. Iran insisted on its request and sent a special plane to Doha for the body.

This is not all, for Iran has persistently interfered in the internal affairs of Gulf countries. Iranian authorities protested when a plane landed at a UAE airport. The Iranians informed UAE authorities that the plane was undesirable.

All this has happened in a short time. Iranian threats against Gulf countries will not stop. At the same time, Iraq is waging a battle of destiny against the Iranian threat. Iran is still refusing to end the fighting, because it refuses to recognize Iraq's legitimate rights.

When the situation in Iran changed the Iranian people were optimistic. We Arabs, Iran's neighbors, expected that our fears and the tension and anxiety in the

region would come to an end and that good neighborly relations would be an important issue for the new Iranian rulers. At that time we asked, How will the new regime treat its people and neighbors? Chaos prevailed throughout the country. Iran's homefront was disunited and torn apart by civil war. The new rulers clashed with their aides who assisted and supported them.

As for Iran's relations with its neighbors, the threats did not stop. Indeed, the threats went beyond words and took the form of action. The Iranian regime carried out a series of provocative actions and pursued a hostile policy against fraternal Iraq. The least that can be said about that policy is that it was irrational and unreasonable.

This happened at a time when the Arabs were expecting a gesture of good neighborliness that would put Iranian-Arab relations back on the right course in a manner that would guarantee Iraq's legitimate rights.

The war is still continuing in the region. The Iraqi army is waging a protracted war to defend its land, sovereignty and independence. This Arab army is paying for the war with its blood. The fraternal Arab country is paying with its efforts and economic, military and political resources.

Therefore, we ask another question: Did the GCC defense ministers discuss the possibility of supporting Iraq in its war? How much longer will this fraternal country have to shoulder the brunt of the responsibility for defending the Gulf?

What is needed now is a unified Arab stand. The Arab countries have not taken the appropriate and desired stand to exert pressure on the Iranian regime to stop the war, officially recognize Iraq's legitimate rights and totally desist from issuing threats against Arab Gulf countries.

CSO: 4404/243



KUWAIT

REPORT ON UNIFIED PUBLICATIONS BILL DENIED

GF021230 Kuwait AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 1 Feb 82 p 1

[Text of letter received from the Information Ministry on 31 January 1982]

[Text] The editor in chief, AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM,

Greetings. Some newspapers have reported that the forthcoming Arab Gulf information ministers conference, which will be held in Kuwait in late February 1982, will discuss a draft unified publications bill that will make all newspapers and publications published in the member countries subject to questioning if they criticize any member country of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

As this report is totally unfounded and there is no item on the draft agenda of the Gulf information ministers conference dealing with a unified publications law, we totally and categorically deny this report.

Please publish this denial on the first page of the first issue of your newspaper published after you receive this letter.

Best wishes,

[Signed] Information Ministry under secretary for technical affairs  
Hamad Yusuf al-Rumi

[The paper adds:] AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM thanks the Information Ministry for this clarification and hopes that everyone will abide by it so that the Kuwaiti and Gulf press will continue to carry out its mission and defend, by the strength of its freedom, Kuwait and the Gulf.

CSO: 4404/243

## BRIEFS

CANADIAN NUCLEAR REACTORS--Kuwait, 25 Jan (KUNA)--The Amir of Kuwait Shaykh Jabir al-Sabah this morning received the Canadian Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources Marc Lalonde. During a press conference he held last night, the Canadian minister expressed his country's readiness to cooperate with Kuwait in various energy spheres and to supply it with four nuclear reactors for peaceful uses if the Kuwaiti Government desires this. He pointed out that the Kuwaiti Government "until now has not decided on the matter," however he expressed his belief that it will make a decision shortly. Lalonde expressed his country's readiness to offer its expertise in oil exploration and extraction in Kuwait. He said that the Kuwait Minister of Oil Shaykh 'Ali al-Khalifah al-Sabah expressed a "strong desire for joint cooperation in this sphere." He expressed his country's desire for local and foreign investments because of its needs for investments to participate in the development of many projects inside Canada. Lalonde estimated his country's requirements for these investments to be about \$400 billion over the next 20 years and he showed his country's ability to fully absorb these figures. The Canadian minister praised relations between his country and the Arab countries and described them as "good." He stressed "that Canadian-Arab economic cooperation means further Canadian understanding of Arab political issues." [Excerpts]  
[LD260800 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0927 GMT 25 Jan 82]

CSO: 4404/243

## BASHIR JUMAYYIL INTERVIEWED ON PEACE INITIATIVE

Beirut AL-'AMAL in Arabic 5 Dec 81 pp 1, 10

Article: "Bashir al-Jumayyil: The Basic Goal of the Initiative Is To Get out of the Tragedy"

Text The leader of the Lebanese Forces, Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil, has called for a discussion of the initiative for a solution that he has propounded which would be totally devoid of complexes of any sort whatever. He denied that his aim in this was to nominate himself for the presidency or acquire any other position; rather, he said it was an attempt to get out of the tragedy that we have been suffering from, and that time today will allow this. He stated yesterday in a conversation with Radio Monte Carlo and AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WAL-DUWALI, over the program "It Happened Tomorrow," that there is to be no sharing of sovereignty or sovereign defense, because that is the prerogative of the government, the legitimate powers and the people, and this is where the demand that the Syrian forces return to their own country comes in. He described these forces as constituting a threat to Lebanon in the event they refused to leave. He expressed a readiness to discuss the subject with Damascus without entering into agreements or treaties, but stated that the contacts that had been made with it so far had not resulted in a response on its part. Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil said that the initiative was not directed against the Syrians, nor did it entail the isolation of the Palestinians, but that the contacts with them that had preceded it should be considered an adequate background for presenting them. He added that the Syrian forces were present in Lebanon through Washington's choice and that there was nothing to prevent the acceptance of an initiative to put an end to this presence on the part of the two great powers or anyone else. He considered that the Palestinians' tentative situation on Lebanese territory was similar to that of the Algerian resistance in Tunisia during its uprising against the French occupation, which had to be controlled by specific agreements that regulated it. He asserted the Lebanese Forces' readiness to hand over its weapons, once the government was able to protect itself and protect the citizens. Here is the text of the conversation:

Question When you say that the future will become more important than the past and the present, does that mean that the leaf of the past must be turned over and that various positions in different circumstances, on your part or the part of the Palestinians or the Syrians will have no value in view of the opportunities for cooperation among these parties that the future could yield?

Answer I will try to describe this initiative as fully as possible, so that I may in reality avoid observations such as those that Dr Salim al-Huss has referred to, which belittle the value of what we have done and isolate it from its real setting.

The story is not one of old positions and new ones, or a retreat from previous positions and the adoption of new ones. It does not mean what the person who made the observation meant. The basic issue today is that the crisis is 7 years old, that we have become lost within it, and that about 100,000 Lebanese have been killed. We all know what state the country is staggering around in. In the light of all the developments on the Lebanese stage, or the Arab or international stage, the time has come for someone to present some initiative which will be positive, and through that a positive solution which will be open to debate, without our having to go back, reopen the pages of the past and discuss the hidden intentions behind this initiative. I would like everyone who wants to criticize the initiative to criticize the substance, not the intentions or the person presenting the initiative. There something that has been presented for negotiation, and let us hold the discussion on the contents of this negotiation, not the psychological and non-psychological complexes that exist in the spirit of each one of us.

Question Some people see in the speech that preceded the initiative and in the specifications of the coming president it broached a preparation for your candidacy for the presidency. Are you a candidate for the presidency?

Answer That is not at all important. Shaykh Pierre always says, "Before we talk about the presidency, let the republic survive first of all, then let us talk about the presidency." As far as I am concerned, I say that I am not a candidate for the presidency or for a deputy's seat, and I am not requesting a ministry or anything of that kind at all. All we want is a president who can get the country out of the crisis that we are stumbling around in. After the developments we have gone through in 7 years of war, we ought to abandon the mentality that is embodied in the attempt to justify everything we are doing and to accuse others of doing what they did because they wanted to be minister or deputies or were candidates for president.

We must persuade ourselves that there are persons, inside Lebanon and out, who can perform initiatives and acts that are divorced from any intention to become candidates for the presidency or parliament.

#### The Syrians and Sovereignty

Question Shaykh Bashir, you say, in the course of the initiative that you have presented, "Lebanon should regain its sovereignty over all its territory, and the government should regain its total authority and be able to exercise it in a firm, comprehensive manner." These bases are acceptable in principle, in all Arab circles at least, but the application is something else, in terms of principle. In the second subsection you say "The Syrian forces should go back to their country and conditions should be enhanced that in the context of national sovereignty will lead Lebanese territory to continue to be a source of reassurance for Syria." How can that be? What will be a guarantee that can reassure Syria?

Answer These are the basic principles of the initiative. We set forth from them in the first stage to assert Lebanese sovereignty and the Lebanese government's full exercise of its rights and powers, because we will in no way agree to have our national sovereignty, dignity or independence subjected to participation in one form or another. This is because the responsibility of defending the country's sovereignty belongs to the government, to the legitimate authorities, to the Lebanese people, and we absolutely do not agree that we should have any partners in this



responsibility. This is an inseparable part of our sovereignty and we cannot relinquish any portion of it.

In the second subheading we talked about the assurances that the Syrians must be provided in Lebanon. Through this initiative we are trying to propound solutions and create the proper framework for getting rid of the crisis we are in. In the speech we produced absolutely no definitions of positions of principle that are not connected to reality by any link. Therefore, when we started the discussion in this context, we wanted to see what the purpose behind the Syrian presence in Lebanon was. If that has been to control the Syrian presence or to prevent it from obstructing any peaceful solution in the area, I believe that the Syrians have failed, because the Palestinians have beat the Syrians to every possible peaceful solution. What happened in the Fez conference is proof of this. While the Syrians here have prevented the Lebanese, or groups of them, from dividing Lebanon up, I believe that the Syrian presence today is what is dividing the country up, harming the Arabs and putting them in danger regarding the situation in Lebanon, and that it is in practice and reality -- I should not say in body -- leading to partition.

Therefore we thought that the Syrian presence would constitute a threat to our sovereignty, to the unity of our country, and to the freedom and security of all the Lebanese. I emphasize "all the Lebanese," after all that has happened in the western section of Beirut. We tried to propose something practical. We thought of what we could agree with the Syrians over in order to bring this withdrawal about, because, without a Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon, Lebanon will still be faced with all dangers and Syria will also still be faced with all dangers.

A Lebanon whose security is Lebanese will constitute a guarantee for itself and a guarantee for Syria as well, because Syria cannot protect its flank whether it occupies Zahlah or not, whether it is in al-Biqah or not. We have thought of practical points to present to the Syrians, and agree with them over, so that we can bring about a withdrawal. The Syrians say that they believe that the Lebanese can constitute a threat to them. We are prepared to talk with the Syrians without entering into security agreements, treaties or tales of that sort. We know what is desired of us and when we reach agreement with someone we will carry out what is desired of us.

We have proposed to the Syrians that they reach understanding with us. We asked them about the considerations that they believe are necessary if Lebanon is to continue to be a source of reassurance for Syria and not a source of anxiety.

Contacts with Damascus

Question It is well known that there has been a dialogue between you and the Syrian party in the past.

(Shaykh Bashir interrupted, "And in the present as well.")

Answer Such a dialogue exists today; it exists in particular hallways, remote from the media; what has the proposal been, and what has the demand been?

The proposal that was made by us was as follows: You are present here with a force of 30,000 occupation troops. What do you want in order to leave this country? What

is required? Is what is required the takeover of a part of Lebanon? Is what is required a security treaty? Is what is required the appointment of a president without an election? Is what is required the abandonment of our sovereignty? Is what is required is for us as Lebanese to leave this country? Let the Syrians demand what they wish from this country for the sake of reaching an understanding with them on realizing a Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon.

Question Is the dialogue with the Syrians still going on?

Answer Muhammad al-Khuli was negotiating in the name of the Syrians. We met him at the Republican Palace three times and presented him with an integrated plan inspired by what we had raised in the latest initiative, which is that the basis of the plan set forth was the restoration of trust between Lebanese and Syrians: let us start by setting out the solution, so that we can arrive at a result. Their answer and their interpretation, after the presentation of a plan based on trust, on the gradual withdrawal of Syrian forces from Beirut and the mountains, and the introduction of legitimate powers into all the areas the Syrian army was to abandon preparatory to the consummation of a national reconciliation and the restoration of trust among us as Lebanese, was that I had presented them with a plan for the fragmentation and division of Lebanon. No Syrian has told the truth about what was said in our conversation with Mr al-Khuli.

We raised these issues with the Syrian officials after al-Khuli left Lebanon but no answer was received in 48 hours. For 3 months and more we have continued to wait for an answer. The negotiations with the Syrians continued through other officials in Lebanon, and we are still holding to our basic proposal. We raised this question at the Arab Followup Committee and did everything this committee asked us to. We gave them every facility to make their mission a success, to eradicate all justifications for failure and to bring Lebanon out of its crisis-ridden state. We gave everything we could, and so far, by the testimony of some Arab ambassadors and foreign ministers of countries represented on the committee, we have given more than we were asked to. We could not even get the Syrians to open up the roads out of the town of Zahlah or to retreat from some points they had promised to evacuate. We have not yet achieved any ongoing cease fire or anything else of importance.

#### Damascus' Queries

A question by the radio correspondent from Damascus: It has been said that the initiative you proposed is first and last aimed at getting the Syrians to leave Lebanon, and is first and last aimed at Syria. What is your comment on that? Do you believe that this initiative could acquire serious significance domestically or in the Arab context if it is not preceded by a dialogue with Syria?

Answer First, we have not talked about getting the Syrians to leave and we have not used this expression, nor will we allow ourselves to do so. All we have asked is that the Syrian forces present in Lebanon go back to their country for good; we have not asked that they be made to leave.

Second, this initiative is not directed at Syria. One can set forth fundamental rules and practical contexts for the initiative. There was a review of the Syrian situation and the Palestinian situation in Lebanon, and, if you consider that review an attack on Syria, that is the result of conduct which took place in Lebanon.

If this review has not been positive in the minds of the Syrians and Palestinians, that is because you all know how they have behaved over the past 7 years.

If this initiative is not directed against Syria, because the likes of what has been said about the Syrian presence have been said about the Palestinian presence, we have said that the future is more important than the past. We are prepared to turn over the leaf of the past and begin a new one with the Syrians and Palestinians. As Shaykh Pierre always says, what use is there if we win over every country in the world but lose our close neighbor? We want an understanding with our neighbor to the greatest degree, we want not to be a source of anxiety for our neighbor, we are prepared for a mutual understanding within the context of Lebanese sovereignty, and let Lebanon and Syria be brothers, both living in reassurance. I can say that our negotiations with Brig Gen Muhammad al-Khuli and others constituted the background for what we have presented today and I believe that the preparations have been adequate. The time has come today, through this presentation, for us to arrive at a mutual understanding.

Another question from the radio correspondent in Damascus: It has been observed that your initiative came in the wake of the failure of the Foz summit. The impression prevails that it was a media move more than a political one, if only at the present time at least. An impression has prevailed whose gist is that Shaykh Pierre wanted to appear to be the proponent of a peaceful initiative and a man of a peaceful settlement, not just a man of war and combat. It has been observed that your initiative has involved flirtation with the Palestinians and intense hostility toward the Syrians. What is your opinion?

[Answer] This initiative has no relationship to the Foz conference. We were observing the occasion of a holiday which is dear to our hearts, the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the party, and by chance this anniversary was on the 29th of November. This has nothing to do with the Foz conference.

I believe that even if this move is described as a media move, not a political one, I am not a man of publicity or a manipulator. I believe that I take firm, clear stands. If I had not been persuaded of the need to promote this initiative, I would not have done so, especially since we Lebanese feel today that we have become ready to talk in the language of logic, orientations and aspirations themselves. Had it not been for all this I would not have presented this initiative.

In any event, even if it is to meet the fate of the previous initiative I personally presented, the day will come when we as Lebanese will assimilate all the facts, and what I said on 29 November was clear at the outset and was acceptable; I advanced this initiative not in the name of the Phalange Party but in the name of the entire region to which we belong and in the name of all Lebanon.

Third, the goal is not for me to seem like a man of a settlement or a man of politics rather than a military man. These are characterizations that you have created. You have categorized people as moderate men of politics and military men, the former being able to reach understanding and the latter incapable of it.

Fourth, you talked about a flirtation with the Palestinians and hostility toward Syria. Let me say once again that the proposal I described, as far as the Palestinians and Syrians went, was just as clear and explicit. We also asked the Palestinians

to correct their relations with the Lebanese and we asked that of the Syrians. Today with Syria we consider that we find that the necessary resolutions to our cause lie in national sovereignty. There is no flirtation with any party in the initiative, nor enmity toward anyone whatever. However, we can express our positions and views, especially on the western section today, and no one who has spoken about the initiative and criticized it has been able to reject it. All the reactions have been positive. We do not want hostility with anyone. We have presented a proposal, and Syria must help us achieve a reconciliation. Let it have clean hands in guaranteeing this solution, if it can.

I want to say that the groundwork for presenting a solution has been suitable since 14 April 1975. However, no official has sought to solve the crisis, and this has made it simmer. Every day there are 50 occasions for presenting solutions, but up to this point we have lacked a united Lebanese declaration. I consider that the president and prime minister's signature of the working paper, and their presentation of it to the Arab Followup Committee, represents a reconciliation of the views of all Lebanese. Today it has become in our power to propose a solution. If that does not suit some people, that does not mean that there is no solution, but rather that the solution has become clear and we must work to carry it out.

#### The Palestinian Presence

Question Have you become convinced that the Palestinian presence in Lebanon is a tentative one and that it will endure until the Middle East crisis is solved, for instance?

Answer I do not want to judge people by their intentions. The Palestinians say that their presence is tentative until their crisis ends. I consider that this statement is a proper point of departure. I do not want to judge the Palestinians by their conduct. If their presence is tentative, they must reach an understanding with us on everything this tentative stage requires. This situation must correspond to the Algerians' presence on Tunisian and other territory the day they declared war on the French occupation of their country and agreements were reached between the Algerian resistance and the countries that were their hosts, so that the resistance would not act as if it were a state in the heart of a state or an authority above the legitimate authorities.

From now on, until the Palestinian issue is resolved, the Palestinian presence must not be a presence of settlers. It must not stand in the way of Lebanese sovereignty, Lebanese authority, the role of the Lebanese army or the freedom of the Lebanese citizen. The Palestinians must realize that the destruction of Lebanon will not benefit them but that to the contrary it has been destructive for the Lebanese and the Palestinians. Let the Palestinians be so kind as to take the initiative of correcting their situation in Lebanon until a just solution to their cause is found. Conversely, we must not allow the Palestinian presence to expose Lebanon, its territory, its enmity and its people, to the dangers we are experiencing.

#### The Role of Washington and Moscow

In response to a question on whether Mr Phillip Habib brought an initiative from Washington, Shayk Bashir al-Jumayyil said, "So far no information has reached us about an American initiative; rather, Mr Habib's arrival does not mean that there is



an initiative. Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil previously said that Mr Habib did not present anything practical, or any plan for resolving Lebanon's crisis.

"As regards the gradual withdrawal of the Syrians from Lebanon and the strengthening of the legitimate authorities' role, we have not yet clearly heard that the Americans support the Syrian withdrawal. This has been so ambiguous that some people believe that Syria has not yet got the green light from some sources to withdraw from Lebanon."

Question Does that mean that it is the Americans who are giving the Syrians the green light to stay in Lebanon?

Answer Certainly -- otherwise they would not have stayed 24 hours in Lebanon.

Question Why then do you expect the Syrian answer to come from Damascus?

Answer Because Damascus alone knows what it is doing. It plays as it likes with all the countries in the area, it gets what it wants, it is Soviet when that suits it and American at other times, or Saudi or Palestinian. Our hope is that it will be Lebanese when that suits it so that we can reach an understanding with it.

Question Do you agree that Moscow will play a role in solving the Lebanese crisis? What is your conception of this role?

Answer We are part of the free world. We can differ ideologically with the Soviet Union on ideological grounds but there are no political problems or enmities between us and the Soviet Union, since it has not once behaved in Lebanon in a manner that would make the Lebanese loathe it. Moscow's ambassador, with whom we have met on numerous occasions, has always expressed the Kremlin's desire to find a solution to the Lebanese crisis.

We do not reject any initiative to solve our crisis, whether it comes from the Soviet Union, any great power, or America. The officials in Washington are always saying that they have no way to put pressure on Syria. If the Soviet officials had such a form of pressure, we would be prepared to reach an understanding with them. After a war that has gone on for 7 years, we are prepared to use all our friendly relations to put a limit to this tragedy, whose end we have not seen starting to assume solid form yet.

#### Return of the Government and Understanding

Question Are the Lebanese Forces prepared to relinquish liberated areas to the government, as some people have demanded?

Answer I am wholly prepared to facilitate the government's task of restoring its sovereignty to all territories. The people who are asking for what you mentioned are the same ones who talked about the issue they specified on 13 April 1975.

We will be prepared to dissolve our forces at a time when we consider that the government is able in every sense of the word to protect us and protect itself in the first place. Today the government is not able to protect me and it is not able to protect itself either. I cannot today relinquish the primary means of defense I possess for something that is ambiguous.

Therefore in the initiative we presented, and in its practical contexts (Paragraph 2D), we demanded that a security force be formed, which effective Lebanese forces would take part in leading and tentatively organizing, that would take over the reins of security in cooperation with the official security forces and so forth.

The dissolution of the militias was at issue on 12 April 1975, and we see where the people who proposed it have ended up. The militias will be dissolved naturally, spontaneously and automatically when there is a strong government. A strong government cannot easily come into being in the twinkling of an eye; rather, it will be of our own making, the result of our own activity. A free strong new Lebanese government which is civilized, secure and progressive will be the result of the interaction of all the Lebanese forces that have been schooled to the depths of their being by the war. That is the Lebanese government that will be able to dissolve the militias.

We are prepared to reach understanding with the true leaders in the western section whose will has been blocked in this war and whose decisions have been blocked because of the new state of affairs that was created in the western section, so that, through them, we can create this new Lebanese government; none of us can dispense with the other or live without the other. Let those who want to do so do so, because the people who are able to speak for the western district have become well known and we are prepared to reach an understanding with them without naming names now.

Question You spoke in practical contexts about effective Lebanese forces assuming the reins of affairs in a specific geographical framework. What does the geographical framework mean? Can there be an interchange of forces, like having the Phalange forces go to the western section and vice versa?

Answer In this area the Lebanese forces will be under the command of official Lebanese government commanders, and that will be the case with the other party. The real official powers will move these forces where they want to. When we arrive at this degree of mutual understanding, there will no longer be need for these forces, because, as former Premier Sa'ib Salam said, "lift the barriers among the people and you will see them rushing toward one another, and then you will be able to arrive at an understanding." I believe that the last 7 years were enough to teach us our mistakes of the past.

Question You specified 15 January as a date in which the Followup Committee was to carry out a number of measures in Beirut. You then chose 15 May as the last date in which the Followup Committee was to complete its activities throughout Lebanon. Do these dates have a special meaning?

Answer These dates have raised a number of stories. Many people wonder why we should set forth dates and bind ourselves to them. To take an initiative without specifying any period of time for it, without specifying time frameworks for it, is meaningless, just idle talk.

These dates were set out so that we could within a specific time frame realize what could be achieved and what could not be achieved. The basic purpose of the dates that were set out in the initiative was for us to be able to arrive at clean, free presidential elections. The dates are not of importance in themselves. The Arab Followup Committee will hold its meeting in January and we wanted to present some-

thing practical, an achievement that we would have brought about with the committee before the meeting. As regards the date of 15 May, this is the date for renewing the mandate of the deterrent forces. There are other dates. We ought to achieve something during these periods.

If the dates are not right, and if anyone says that he does not want to leave Lebanon before 15 May 2020, then we will reach understanding with him that on 15 May 2020 Lebanon will be free. But we have specified the dates so that we could at least specify the contexts in which we can arrive at results.

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CSO: 4404/205

NATIONAL BANK NOVEMBER BALANCE SHEET REVIEWED

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 6 Dec 81 p 6

[Article: "Bank of Lebanon at End-November: Government Debt Declines 652 Million"]

[Text] Yesterday the Bank of Lebanon distributed a statement on its situation at the end of November as compared with its state in mid-November. This statement revealed some changes, of which the most prominent were:

1. Figures in the heading on "money in circulation," in the section of liabilities, dropped 83 million pounds, as compared with 52 million in the first half of last month. Figures on the heading "gold and foreign currency" in the section on assets also dropped by 67 million.

This retrenchment, which has been going on for a month and a half, reflects a state of relative stability in security conditions and an improvement in tax collecting procedures in some installations.

2. The figures in the heading on "loans to the public sector" in the section on assets declined by 652 million pounds as compared with a decline of 250 million in the first half of November

These figures represent the debt that has accrued to the Bank of Lebanon from the treasury and it is most likely that the decline resulted from payment of the sum of the final installment of Arab aid coming from Saudi Arabia and Qatar, in addition to the surplus consisting of the latest issue of treasury bonds.

3. The figures in the heading "other assets and debtor accounts" in the section on assets rose by 364 million pounds.

It is clear that this rise may be attributed to Arab aid (\$89 million).

4. The figures in the heading "deposits on demand" in the section on liabilities declined by 223 million pounds. This for the most part represents banks' free and compulsory reserves with the Bank of Lebanon. It is believed that the surplus liquidity drop resulted from the banks' readiness to subscribe to treasury bonds with a high interest rate.



herewith is a "statement of the condition in brief" of the Bank of Lebanon:

	On 30 November 1981 (Lebanese pounds)	On 15 November 1981 (Lebanese pounds)
<b>Assets</b>		
1. Gold and foreign currency (Article 69 of the Money and Lending Law)	3,750,522,527.47	3,817,018,113.57
2. Loans to the public sector	1,597,779,966.85	2,249,123,431.98
3. Loans to the private sector	157,185,460.17	156,686,782.70
4. Loans in accordance with Article 40 of Law 28 for 1967	1,437,308.00	1,393,494.80
5. Other assets and creditor accounts	5,782,668,788.36	5,418,903,942.90
<b>Total</b>	<b>11,289,594,050.85</b>	<b>11,643,125,756.95</b>
<b>Liabilities</b>		
1. Commitments on demand		
A. Money in circulation	4,688,148,158.41	4,771,272,221.14
B. Demand deposits	3,161,416,251.02	3,384,882,786.70
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,849,564,409.43</b>	<b>8,156,155,007.84</b>
2. Other deposits	2,064,398,782.57	2,226,786,325.18
3. Capital	15,000,000.00	15,000,000.00
4. General Reserve	478,999,349.96	478,999,349.96
5. Other debtor accounts	881,631,508.89	766,203,082.97
<b>Total</b>	<b>11,289,594,050.85</b>	<b>11,643,125,765.95</b>

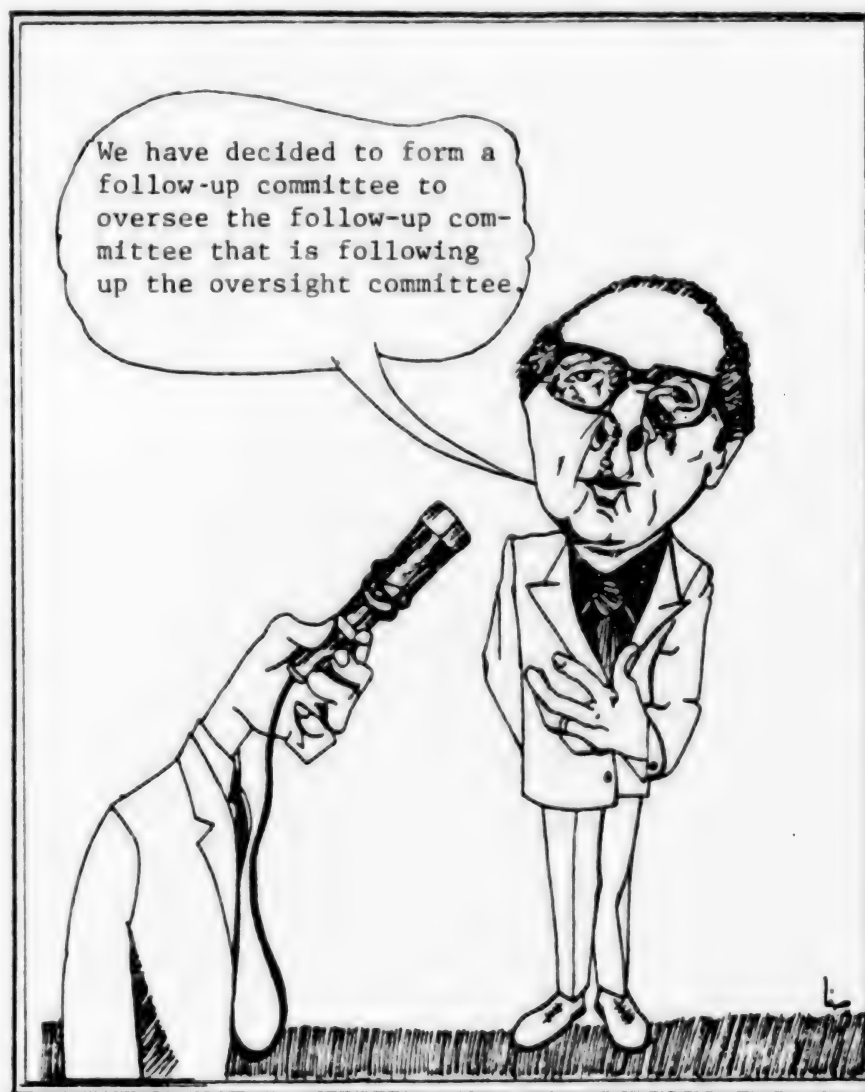
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FOLLOW-UP COMMITTEE'S FUTILITY NOTED

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 25-31 Jan 82 p 8

[Cartoon]



CSO: 4404/247

## 'MUSCAT RADIO' COMMENTARY ON SOVIET DANGER

LD262206 Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1320 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Unattributed commentary: "Under the Spotlight"]

[Text] It is certain that the first meeting of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] defense ministers, which started in Riyadh yesterday, represents a new stage in development of the GCC--an even more important and influential stage.

Even though for more than 10 years, thanks to (?the security set-up) of its leadership and people and thanks to its strategic position, the Sultanate of Oman has carried the great burden of stemming the communist onslaught and forcing it to retreat, it nonetheless continues to act in the regional arenas among its sisters in the region with the same strength, spirit and vitality toward achieving the Gulf Arab citizen's primary objective, namely that he should lead a life filled with a sense of security and stability, in the midst of a world pervaded with malicious feelings and tendencies toward domination and aggression.

Perhaps the composition of the Omani delegation to the conference, under the leadership of His Highness Fahar Ibn Taymur, deputy prime minister for security and defense affairs, reflects the great significance attached by the sultanate to that meeting and its outcome, including such issues as the initiative toward forming the region's own force.

For the record, the meeting of the GCC defense ministers is taking place under very grave regional, Arab and international circumstances as we witness violent currents competing with one another around the Gulf and the Arab peninsula. This makes it essential for the GCC, through its defense ministers, to form an integrated security shield holding the initiative and capable of stemming those currents to prevent the Gulf Arab movement from becoming subject to individual calculations by forces outside the region. The strength of the GCC should not be affected by sudden events and their reactions.

Every step taken by the GCC since its formation has been premediated and expressive of the reality experienced by the states in the region. For this reason, military coordination, as the most important aspect of cooperation in discussing integrated defense plans, must take into account those circumstances and these currents. The most important of these are:

1. The Soviet moves, as well as moves by its agent states at both ends of the Gulf and the Arab peninsula and their environs, confirm Soviet designs on the region both to dominate its sea routes and its oil wealth. This, in turn, strengthens the prevailing belief that the Soviets are attempting to shift the center of international conflict to the Gulf region in the eighties.

The Soviet president's proposals last year to neutralize the Gulf region were a screen to hide the Soviets' wicked intention to interfere in the region's internal affairs and confuse the issues by means of negotiations, to be followed by a legitimized presence in a region which rejects its ideological, political and military presence. The Kremlin's attempts to this end will not stop because its designs are limitless and the conflict unending.

2. Then there is the emergence of the phenomena of political extremist and religious fanaticism. The first is represented by the establishment of the [word indistinct] alliance between Aden, Addis Ababa and Tripoli. It is an extremist alliance steeped in the terrorist idea as a tool in international relations and it is an extension of Moscow's belief in this method. Since this suspect alliance emerged as a response to the establishment of the GCC and the first indicators of the growth of the United Gulf Arab strength, the role entrusted to the alliance was to spread terrorism and chaos in the region after the methods of political hypocrisy had failed and after all the doors were closed on any possibilities of terrorist infiltration.

The second is religious fanaticism which reached the stage of hatching subversive conspiracies under the cover of religion. It is a (?repulsive) phenomenon because it contradicts the principles of Islam and its primary teachings which emerged in Arabia and then spread to all parts of the region. Danger does not lie in religious fanaticism as such, but only when it wears Islamic garb to achieve territorial ambitions—as happened in the case of fraternal Bahrain [word indistinct].

3. The aggressive tendency of Israel has begun to expand, for it no longer differentiates between the Arab confrontation states and the other states which lie farther from the confrontation line. It is an expansion and a direction confirmed by the air raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor and Israeli air reconnaissance over Saudi territory. The reason for this aggressive direction is Israel's (?chagrin) at the changes and responsiveness of the United States and Europe to the Gulf Arab states because of their economic and political influence in the international arena. This was obvious during the battle over the AWACS and when the Saudi peace plan was put forward.

For this reason, Israel, seeing the balance tilting against it, did not hesitate to engage in crazy military adventures to establish that it is the only power in the region capable of protecting Western interests. This is an obvious danger.

4. The time factor represents a hidden danger for the GCC states. For this reason the reinforcement of the council's own strength must be speeded up. Events in many parts of the world have an indirect impact on the region. For



instance, the USSR is now involved in more than one state, such as Afghanistan, Poland, Kampuchea and Nicaragua. It attempts to disengage itself from one region only to plan interference in another or it attempts to entrench itself in areas where its presence is shaky. That is why speeding-up implementation of the security and defensive measures for the GCC states will insulate the region from the dangers of Soviet tactics and from any other threats from its agents or others.

We do not believe that belittling these dangers is in the interests of the region's states. [word indistinct] defense policies of the GCC states must draw up their integrated plans that will ensure these dangers are confronted. People say that military and security issues are extremely sensitive, but the GCC states used to be one people bound by close links of common heritage and traditions, and similarities in their environment, political systems, psychological outlook and culture. Today they have one vision and aspire to one future. There is no sensitivity.

It is the dangers which will make these states embark on coordination and the provision of all facilities and available resources to create a modern force capable of deterring others. There must be a force with an integrated system of weapons, ready equally in times of peace and war, to aid any member state subjected to dangers. There must be an integrated network of communications and roads linking the six states to facilitate the mobility of the force with appropriate speed.

There is no doubt that the GCC states possess various advanced weapons. What is required is no more than redistribution of the [word indistinct] weapons to enable the GCC states to form a strong, interlocking chain. The GCC should build a base to manufacture weapons and technological equipment so that one day it might break the monopoly in weapons and rely on its internal resources. Moreover, diversity in the sources of weapons is one of the important factors that will ensure development of the security and defense force and secure it against any external pressures and conditions.

The Gulf defense force is not directed against anyone. It is not an axis against other axis. It is a force that will work to end the policy of polarization inside the Arab homeland from the ocean to the gulf.

It is an effective force that must be taken into account when the Arab nation wages its national struggle against the enemies. It is a strong force that will ensure the security of the peoples in the region and protect their faith and territory. It is a neutral force that will stand firmly against barbarous force. It will destroy subversive elements. It will plan security and consolidate stability. It will be the appropriate framework that will encourage the GCC states to continue their moves toward political and economic integration.

The more the GCC moves toward completing its defensive and unity structures the more will be the dangers with which it will have to contend: the forces opposed to the GCC are the same forces opposed to the principles of national and legal sovereignty and divine revelation. They are forces which believe in coups d'etat, self-centeredness and bases of authority and power.

The GCC states have taken a new road to unity, new methods of dealing with one another and to work based on tolerance, flexibility and frankness. It is now being said that the GCC will transform itself into a serious Arab-Islamic region. It will influence events in a way that will correct all the situations caused by the USSR and Israel.

It will (?succeed) in ending the centers of tension so that peace and security will prevail in the region and all surrounding areas. The GCC states will confirm that they constitute the nucleus of Arab security, the (?core) of Arab solidarity and one of the principal supports for international peace and security.

CSO: 4404/243

## BRIEFS

NEW DJIBOUTI ENVOY--Qavs 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Zawawi, minister of state for foreign affairs, received this morning the credentials of the new Djibouti ambassador to Oman, (Adam Sakyh Hasan). [GF091215 Salalah Domestic Service in Arabic 0700 GMT 8 Feb 82 GF]

NEW AMBASSADORS RECEIVED--Sultan Qabus today received the credentials of the following ambassadors to the Sultanate of Oman: (Muhammad al-Duruqi) of Egypt; (Duncan Thursder) of Great Britain; (Husayn Salam) of Turkey; (Paul Sarbanovi) of Yugoslavia, and the U.S. ambassador accredited to the sultanate. [LD270612 Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 26 Jan 82 LD]

ENVOYS RECEIVED--Sultan Qabus today received the credentials of: Cyrus Antonopolos as ambassador of Cyprus to Oman; George Salbia of Malta; Abdullah Suedi of Tanzania; and Mohamed al-Hanafi Ibn Mohamed Talih of Mauritania. [EA290346 Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 27 Jan 82 EA]

GULF WAR, PDRY RELATIONS--Al-Dammam, 27 Jan (WAKH)--Fahar Ibn Taymur, Omani deputy prime minister for security and defense affairs, has denied Iranian claims that his country is aiding Iraq with armed forces, adding that these claims are baseless. The Omani official explained that the strained relations between his country and the PDRY remain unchanged. On the new defense formula reached among the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] defense ministers, he said that defending the GCC states is a common issue, that an attack on any one state means an attack on the six member states and that all the GCC states are working for the sake of one objective. In statements published today by Saudi newspaper AL-YAWM, the Omani official said that the GCC has not discussed the repercussions of the Iraqi-Iranian war on the Gulf region. He added that Oman possesses strong defensive capabilities and is building up its intrinsic potentials in cooperation with fraternal countries in the face of any plots. [Text] [JN270800 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0635 GMT 27 Jan 82]

CSO: 4404/243

## BRIEFS

ENVOY TO EEC--Qatari ambassador to Belgium 'Abdallah Salih al-Mana presented his credentials to the chairman of the EEC Ministerial Council today as Qatar's envoy to the council. [GF031250 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1140 GMT 3 Feb 82 GF]

GULF OIL STRATEGY--Shaykh 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Khalifah al Thani, the Qatari minister of finance and oil, has called for a Gulf oil strategy that would express the decisions and bases laid down by the leaders of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] at their first conference in Abu Dhabi. In a statement to the "London-based newspaper ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, the Qatari finance and oil minister has stated that the task before the GCC oil ministers at their meeting next Monday in Riyadh will be the implementation of these bases, adding that a unified oil strategy should not be considered an alliance against any country. The establishment of the GCC was not aimed at forming a bloc, he has asserted, but at laying down methods and principles of cooperation among the GCC countries, whether in the financial, economic, political or oil fields. The minister of finance and oil has ruled out the possibility that the GCC oil ministers meeting would affect the OPEC situation. [Text] [GF281730 Doha Domestic Service in Arabic 1530 GMT 28 Jan 82]

CSO: 4404/243



ISRAELI BLACKMAIL OF U.S. DIPLOMATS VIEW

GF070500 Jidda AL-MADINAH in Arabic 2 Feb 82 p 2

[Editorial: "When Will the United States Wake Up?"]

[Excerpts] THE WASHINGTON POST has published a report uncovering the Zionist entity's mean methods of blackmailing U.S. diplomats in (occupied Palestine) by seducing them with Jewish girls or luring them with money, for instance. In this way the enemy aims to obtain information of interest to him which the U.S. employees are believed to possess.

The Jews stop at nothing. They trust no one. They are ready to connive against anyone and with anyone in order to achieve their mean goals and accomplish their international peace-destroying strategies.

No one recognizes the danger of Jewish thought and Jewish connivance better than the Muslims. The Holy Koran--the sayings of God the all-wise--teaches them about the Jews' intrinsic nature, bad intentions and mean methods. No prophet of theirs has escaped this, nor did any people whom they have subjected to conspiracy and sabotage.

We in the Islamic Arab world are the target of the Jewish conspiracy and Jewish crimes. Self-evident instances show what we are subjected to. The Jews will blackmail any source in order to achieve their dangerous goals against Islam and the Muslims.

We find the Americans getting upset and threatening Iran, which took some of them as hostages--a mean act, morally speaking, as mean as the Jewish blackmailing of U.S. diplomats in Palestine as reported by the U.S. newspaper. However, the Jewish act does not receive the concern and denunciation that the Iranian act did because the U.S. media interpret all that the Jews do "pleasantly," not logically or morally.

The direction which the Jewish plans are taking expands the circle of the Jewish threat. The Americans, who view themselves as allies of the Jews and in the same boat with them, have not escaped it either. This is the most dangerous phase of brainwashing which the Jews have succeeded in achieving within the U.S. media. When will the United States wake up?

CSO: 4404/243

## SAUDI ARABIA

### BRIEFS

GULF OIL MINISTERS MEETINGS--Saudi Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources Shaykh Ahmad Zaki Yamani has told ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the petroleum ministers of the Gulf Cooperation Council States, who concluded their meetings in Riyadh yesterday, have laid the foundations of an oil strategy for the future. He said that the reports that decisions were made on the question of adopting a unified policy on production averages and prices are not true "because we did not agree on such decisions and we did not adopt such decisions. As for oil prices, these have been agreed upon within OPEC and they will not be changed." Referring to the work of the conference in the light of the working papers submitted to it, Shaykh Yamani said: A Saudi working paper was submitted and so were other working papers. We like to call them ideas. They are under study and they will be submitted to the summit conference. The Gulf oil ministers concluded their meetings yesterday. [Wahib Muhammad Ghurab] [Excerpt] [PM041109 London ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 2 Feb 82 p 1]

NEW EQUIPMENT FOR IINA--Dr 'Abd al-'Aziz Khujah, information minister under secretary for information and chairman of the executive council of the International Islamic News Agency [IINA] has signed a contract with the Italian company (Consaltel). The company will sell IINA \$333,344 worth of equipment so it can expand its service to compete with major international news agencies. [Riyadh Domestic Television Service in Arabic 1800 GMT 31 Jan 82 GF]

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## CONSTITUTIONALITY OF GOVERNMENT DISCIPLINE MEASURES ASSERTED

Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 23 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Badriy Sulayman 'Abbas, chief legal adviser to the president of the republic: "Concerning the Constitutionality of the Security Measures and Discipline Campaigns"]

[Text] Introduction

These days a number of questions are being asked about the constitutionality of the security measures and discipline campaigns being carried out by the security forces. In fact, matters have even gone beyond that point. Some people have decided and expounded the opinion that these measures are an explicit violation of the provisions of the constitution. Many people are forgetting the fact that the constitutional provisions which they claim are being violated are not absolute or universal provisions. Either they are limited by the express wording of the constitution or the constitution itself permits limitations on them in accordance with the law.

#### The Legal Provisions

Article 40 of the constitution stipulates that it is not permitted to exile any Sudanese from Sudanese territory or to prohibit him from entering Sudanese territory. Also, Article 41 of the constitution stipulates that freedom of movement and residence is guaranteed to [all] citizens except in cases involving security or public health which are specified by the law, provided that the time period and starting date of any deprivation of this freedom can be determined.

Anyone who reads these two provisions might initially think that they are a violation of the freedoms and rights of our citizens which they have acquired through the text of the constitution. However, anyone who is interested in being familiar with all of the legal aspects of the matter must explore the legal justifications for disregarding the constitution, if there is any such disregard of the constitution, or he must inquire about the existence of any legislation, based on the constitution, which limits such rights.

The State Security Apparatus Law of 1978 is a proper law which was passed by a competent legislative authority according to the requirements of Article 118 of the constitution. On the strength of this, it is sound legislation from the legal point

of view, and Article 5 of it permits the president of the republic to form a national security council and a national defense council. This was the basis upon which Republican Decrees Number 281 of 1977 and 254 of 1979 were issued. This was also the basis of Republican Decree Number 592 of 1981, in accordance with which the National Security Council and National Defense Council were formed and their functions were determined. It should be noted that Article 4 of Republican Decree Number 281 of 1977, which is in force, determines the functions of the National Defense Council as follows:

"The functions of the National Defense Council are to make the necessary plans for the defense of the country and to oversee matters concerning the composition of the regular armed forces, organization of reserve forces, preparation of plans and programs of general mobilization, and the declaration of a state of emergency or state of war in order to derive the utmost benefit thereof in order to support the requirements of general mobilization of war."

Article 6 of the same decree determines the functions of the National Security Council as being the formulation of executive policies and plans having the objectives of preserving the security and safety of the country as well as insuring the gains made by the nation, and overseeing all of the security apparatuses and their domestic and foreign activities. One should also read Article 5 of the State Security Apparatus Law--in conjunction with the above-mentioned republican decrees--which puts into effect the text of Article 79 of the constitution. It stipulates the following:

"Any legislation which constitutes a limitation of these general freedoms and rights which this constitution includes and establishes is a nullification of its provisions and can be justified only by [the principle of] respect for the rights and freedoms of others and the requirements of national security and the welfare of the nation."

The above-mentioned clearly states that security-related measures and plans which have been instituted by the National Defense Council and the National Security Council, which have been formed on the basis of a republican decree which is based on law, have basically been instituted for the sake of preserving the country's security and safety and insuring the gains achieved by the nation. They do have the justifications, meant by Article 79 of the constitution, which make Articles 40 and 41 of the constitution articles which are restricted by the requirements of national security, the welfare of the nation, and respect for the rights and freedoms of others.

#### Groups Affected by the Discipline Campaigns

Whoever examines the security measures and the consequences thereof should note that they have basically applied to those foreigners and refugees who have entered the country illegally and those who have illegally taken up residence after moving from the locations set aside for them under the supervision of the UN refugee aid program and settling in Khartoum and other cities of Sudan. The minority of people involved who are Sudanese either come under the definition of idle people or vagrants, according to Section 28 of the 1974 Penal Code, or they are people who have been found to be in possession of ammunition, in violation of the law concerning

commodity control, the law dealing with personal identity cards, or traffic laws. The law explicitly permits such people to be arrested and brought to trial. This is what is being accomplished right now.

### The Theory of Exceptional Circumstances and Judicial Precedents

Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that the security measures and discipline campaigns required by the necessities of security lead one to feel that they constitute a violation of the constitution. Is there any justification for these measures which would exclude them from having the attribute of being unconstitutional without recourse to the legislation dealt with above so that matters would be clear to a non-Sudanese jurist who is not acquainted with all of our legislation or even to Sudanese jurist who has not kept up with his national legislation?

Quite simply the answer to this question can be found in the application of the theory of exceptional circumstances which is legally accepted and which has arisen from judicial precedents. In English it is called "the doctrine of necessity." This theory basically says that the safety of the state is the basic law or, as it is expressed in English, "the safety of the state is the supreme law."

In cases where there is fear of the occurrence of danger which would be detrimental to national security or public order, the safety and security of the nation's citizens constitute the supreme law. According to this law, in order to deal with this danger the authorities in the government must take all appropriate measures, even though they might conflict with the express provisions of the constitution, in order to protect the nation's law and security and in order to preserve the nation's government and society.

The following conditions must be present before it can be considered that this situation exists:

- A. The existence of a state of exceptional circumstances as a result of imminent danger which would affect the safety of the country and its society.
- B. That the measure being taken to deal with this danger be the only measure which would ward off the danger.
- C. That the danger be equivalent to the measure taken to deal with it, and that the measure taken be reasonable when compared to the danger.
- D. That the measure be temporary and restricted to the period of exceptional circumstances.
- E. That the authorities who have taken the preventive measure--if they are not fundamentally the competent authorities--have temporarily applied the measure in place of competent authorities.

This theory of exceptional circumstances has already been applied in a number of countries, and has clearly been an influence in Pakistan, Cyprus, and Rhodesia, as is evidenced by the following: In Pakistan in 1955, in the case dealing with the Special Reference by the Governor General of Pakistan, reported in Jennings, op. cit., p. 259, it was decided that the theory of exceptional circumstances, when



there is the existence of conditions requiring its application, implicitly exists in all modern constitutions. In Cyprus in 1964, in the case called "the Attorney General of the Republic versus Mustafa Ibrahim and Others," 1964 Cyprus Law Reports 195, the court applied the theory of exceptional circumstances after confirming the existence of conditions requiring its application--or as was stated in English: "Necessity renders validly applicable what would otherwise be illegal and invalid." In Rhodesia in 1966, in the case involving (Madz Mhamtu), the theory of exceptional circumstances was applied in order to confer the status of legality to laws and measures which were issued on the basis of it by the illegal government of Ian Smith. This was done in order to avoid the constitutional and legal vacuum which would result from the abrogation of these laws because they were issued by improper authorities. This was done in order not to expose the security of the country and safety of its citizens to danger.

#### Current Circumstances in Sudan

It is possible for us to say that it was difficult to exercise control over security-related and everyday-life circumstances in the country without instituting the measures which were approved by the National Defense Council and National Security Council. The lives of our citizens had come to be at the mercy of a small number of people who were concerned only with themselves. The lives and property of our citizens had come to be the target of assault, theft, and robbery. Gangs of robbers and thieves had become fully known to everyone, but they were so terrified of them that they refused to report to the police about the individuals in these gangs. Also, negative foreign social phenomena, brought in by foreign elements, began to spread throughout our society.

All of these circumstances taken together began to constitute a threat to the rights and freedoms of our citizens and to be detrimental to our national security and the welfare of our nation. Naturally it was necessary for the authorities to take measures which would guarantee putting a stop to these violations. This had to be done in order that the rule of law govern our society and so that Sudan would continue along the path of progress and growth and so that its citizens could exercise their rights to the degree that these rights do not encroach upon the rights of others. It should also be mentioned that a state of exceptional circumstances differs from a state of emergency. According to the constitution, a state of emergency, [unlike a state of exceptional circumstances], has to be declared.

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## COMMON DESTINY WITH EGYPT AFFIRMED

Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 27 Oct 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Yes, the Nile Valley Is Linked by a Common Destiny"]

[Text] Yesterday our president and leader, at the Festival of the Nile Inundation, told Egyptians here in Sudan that the eternal solidarity of the two peoples in Egypt and Sudan had made it necessary for their society to pursue the path of a common destiny. [He said that] the two peoples together had plunged into their fierce battles for independence and that their destiny had been the same after achieving freedom, dignity and independence.

We believe this, and we have nothing new to say about the intermingling of the two peoples which is attested to by the [two peoples'] view of history, the loftiness of their stances taken, their common temperament, and the purity of their sentiments. All of this is something which has its convincing evidence, clear proof, and lofty pillars in a long and continuous course of history which goes back to the times of Thebes, Napata, and Meroe, and has extended even to the present day when Sudan recently stood by Egypt during its great but transitory time of distress which tested the firmness of its people.

There is perhaps one new thing to say. We should warn those who have exaggerated the [differences in] stances taken by the two countries about not being mindful of amateur conspirators, professional saboteurs, sophists, and sowers of discord and disseminators of hypocrisy who are passionately enthusiastic about various political groups which upset everything. Such people dally around with the fates of nations, mouth invalid sophistry, utter judgments which demonstrate rebellious political childishness, ignore the national interest, play their game through disruption and division, and do not learn the lesson that is obviously to be learned in all parts of the Arab world--that the prevalence of such practices here have pushed the Arab people into bottomless abysses of deterioration.

To such people we say that their judgments, when they talk about Egypt and Sudan, show ignorance of everything we have mentioned--ignorance of history, stances taken, men, struggles for freedom, the sentiments that nations of people have, and the destinies of nations--and nothing is so harmful to people as ignorance. If they would only trouble themselves to stroll about the streets of Cairo and Khartoum, they would become convinced of the falseness of their premises which only lead to erroneous conclusions. As our president and leader said yesterday: "The ties that link Egyptians and Sudanese are something which is stronger than the bonds of laws and ordinances. They are ties of family, tribe, and blood. They are people with a common destiny and a common future."

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS, DISCIPLINE MEASURES ANNOUNCED

Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 22 Oct 81 p 1

[Article: "Increasing Compliance with the President's Instructions in a Number of Government Institutions"]

[Text] In the Cabinet: Establishment of a Unit to Follow Up on the Execution of the Instructions and Submit Continuous Reports to the President Concerning the Course of Work Done to Implement [the Instructions].

In Public Service: Conclusion of the Process of Setting Up Cards and Forms Dealing with the Movement of [Public Service] Workers, in Preparation for Putting Them into Use for the First Time in the History of the Civil Service.

In Communications: Prohibition of Private Visits and Instructions to Units of the Public Wire Communications Organization to Facilitate Services to the Public.

In Energy: Discovery of the Causes of Widespread Lack of Discipline in the Public Electricity and Water Agency, and Initiation of Plans to Eliminate These Causes.

AL-AYYAM is continuing its monitoring of the degree of official and popular compliance with the general instructions issued by President Numayri concerning the issues of low productivity, combatting corruption and lack of discipline, and implanting discipline in the various government institutions. Numerous reports and letters have indicated the broad acceptance, among the masses of people, of this administrative revolution and continual increase in efforts to immediately implement it in all of the executive bodies--above all in the government institutions which serve the daily needs of our citizens.

In the Cabinet

As for the highest of the executive bodies, AL-AYYAM has learned that the prime minister's office has established a special unit to follow up on the execution of the president's instructions after fitting the contents of these instructions into the framework of a program which will define their content and meaning and then

quickly conveying the program to the governors of the provinces, ministers, and chairmen of the special councils. All of these people will be considered directly responsible to the president of the republic for carrying out the objectives of the administrative revolution which has been announced by President Numayri. This unit will be making continuous reports to the president concerning the steps of implementation taken in all of the executive positions.

#### The Ministry of Public Service

In the Ministry of Public Service and Administrative Reform, the Technical Committee formed by Mr Haydar Kabsun, has finished setting up cards and forms dealing with controlling the daily movement of civil service workers in and out of all of the civil service locations. This action was taken on the basis of previous studies and studies newly made by the committee. This committee, consisting of the directors of Administrative Reform, the Academy of Administrative Science, and the Administrative Development Center, will then submit the designs of these cards and forms to the minister [of public service and administrative reform] this morning in order to obtain approval for them. This system will be put into practice for the first time in the history of the Sudanese civil services.

#### In the Ministry of Communications

In the Ministry of Communications, the Public Wire and Wireless Communications Organization has sent pamphlets to all of its units concerning guaranteeing precision in work procedures and facilitating the process of providing our citizens with the services of the organization. The Public Postal and Telegraph Organization has also taken similar steps. On the basis of instructions passed out by the minister of communications, private visits will be prohibited, one will not be permitted to leave [his place of work] without written permission, and one will not be permitted to have meals anywhere except at his place of work.

#### The Ministry of Energy and Mining

On the basis of instructions given by the minister, a meeting which was chaired by the Public Electricity and Water Agency was held in the Ministry of Energy and Mining. The purpose of the meeting was to study various aspects of lack of administrative discipline which had been taking place in this important and vital government institution. The meeting concluded that there were several factors which had been partially responsible for the fact that this phenomenon was widespread. These factors were summed up as being a lack of availability of both large and small vehicles for bringing workers to their places of work on time, a lack of qualified labor personnel to perform maintenance work due to the fact that most of the skilled workers had gone abroad, the fact that agreements with labor unions present a stumbling stone when it comes to hiring other workers to take their places, and a lack of availability of the necessary spare parts in order to perform vehicle maintenance due to not inspecting and keeping track of the minor parts set aside for this purpose, in spite of the fact that there are now many more vehicles. Other factors also revealed were the slowness of procedures in both the Purchasing and Storage Divisions concerning the procurement of spare parts, and the fact that these procedures are too complicated. All of this has led to a delay in repairs in cases of vital damage.

After an extensive discussion during the meeting, the opinion reached was that the utmost efforts should be made, in cooperation with the bodies concerned in the various special administrative divisions, to eliminate these obstacles. It was also agreed that strict administrative measures should be taken to guarantee that workers get to work on time in order to eliminate the phenomena of lack of discipline--and all of those at the meeting agreed that these phenomena exist. A complete report concerning this matter will be submitted to the minister so that he can deal with these phenomena in order to raise rates of production to the level expected in the most important of the government institutions which deal with the needs of our citizens.

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# CENTRAL REGION AIMS AT SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD

Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 25 Oct 81 p 5

[Article: "The Central Region, with Its Agricultural Production, Provides a Secure Food Supply"]

[Text] 45 Million Feddans Reclaimed, and Millions of Feddans Waiting to Be Developed; On Friday 16 October 1981 the Govern-ments and Peoples of the World Observed the International Celebration of World Food Day [Dedicated to] the Struggle Against Hunger, Malnutrition, and Poverty; This Was in Response to a Decision Made by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization at Its Conference in 1979.

Here in Sudan the celebration has become one which is nation-wide. This has been done in order to increase our national awareness of the problems of food production and distribution on a worldwide scale and of the Sudanese government's efforts to achieve agricultural development, produce a secure food supply for the nation, and contribute toward the achievement of a secure food supply both regionally and internationally.

Here in the Central Region agricultural production is greater than in the other regions of the country. The Central Region contributes 40 percent of the country's gross [domestic] product. It is also considered to be the focus of projects for national development. What makes the Central Region unique is its diversity of natural resources in terms of its vast agricultural lands. Of these lands, 4.5 million feddans will presently be suitable for agriculture. In addition to these lands there are several more million feddans awaiting development in the Blue Nile plains between Kinanah al-Kubra, west of the Rusayris Dam, and the White Nile desert areas plus segments and pockets of the old Jazirah land areas and areas in the Manaqil extensions.

The Central Region also has vast forests and 22 percent of the nation's animal wealth. This is in addition to its wealth in terms of water resources provided artificially by gravity-flow irrigation and water pumps and by large amounts of rain-fed irrigation.

All of this potential makes it natural for the Central Region to play the basic and primary role in agricultural production, livestock production and its by-products,

This has actually already begun in the areas of processing cotton and sugar cane.

In the capital city of the Central Region AL-AYYAM met with Dr 'Uthman Khalifah, the minister of agriculture and natural resources. Dr Khalifah said, in the extensive interview which was held with him that a new policy will be followed in agricultural utilization.

He was referring to how best to utilize the small projects and private farmland areas. He stated that 2,000 farmland areas have not been utilized in the Habibah area in the northern part of the Jazirah and in the Central Region, and that a review will be made of all of them.

Dr Khalifah also pointed out that if those projects and private farmland areas were utilized well and in a beneficial manner, in accordance with the purposes for which the licenses [to use them] were granted, then production from these farmlands would be enough for the needs of the Central Region and Khartoum and it would be possible to export the surplus to foreign countries and help to insure a secure food supply.

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EXPECTED ISRAELI ATTACK AGAINST LEBANON DISCUSSED

GF031532 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 3 Feb 82 p 1

[Untitled Editorial]

[Text] The U.S. warning against the renewal of Palestinian commando operations can only be interpreted as Washington's green light to Tel Aviv to carry out a new military operation to invade southern Lebanon and to deal a violent blow to the forces of the Palestinian revolution. At the same time, this U.S. warning cannot be isolated from the exaggerated Israeli propaganda on the commando operation that took place in the Jordan Valley on Saturday.

It is neither strange nor astonishing for Washington to warn and even threaten that "a new military confrontation in the region" may take place. However, when Washington talks about the need to cease fire and when it considers this necessary, it links it to what it calls "a negotiated settlement." The threat is also obvious at this point. Washington is about to say--or it actually is saying--to the Arabs: Keep silent, accept Israel's hegemony and agree to negotiate with Israel while you are in a weak position or you will have to bear the results of the new Israeli aggression.

Such a U.S. warning is one more alarm to be added to scores of previous alarms on imminent Israeli attacks on southern Lebanon. Several Arab and Lebanese circles have warned against this aggression. We don't know why we are only warning ourselves about this aggression and then wait for it. We don't unite or deploy ourselves in the form and magnitude required to confront the aggression.

The situation today is very similar to the situation in March 1978 when Israel prepared itself to invade southern Lebanon while we went on warning ourselves against its aggression. When it took place, it was the Lebanese-Palestinian joint forces which stood alone to confront the aggression. Will we allow the 1978 experience to be repeated? Why is every one of us advising the other while he cannot see that this expected aggression is directed against him? We should restrict our warnings to ourselves and convert our warning statements into military communiques.

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

BRIEFS

IRANIANS ARRESTED--Abu Dhabi, 3 Feb (WAKH)--UAE border security forces have arrested three Iranians who tried to enter Ra's al-Khaymah illegally through the mountains disguised in traditional Arab costume. The newspaper AL-ITTIHAD published in Abu Dhabi today said the 3 Iranians will be tried together with 12 others who tried to enter the country by sea. The coastal police in Dubai recently arrested 12 Iranians who entered the country illegally. [Text]  
[GF031911 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1810 GMT 3 Feb 82]

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